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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

# THE FINANCING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS BY THE ALBERTA GOVERNMENT

By

ⓒ MARILYN LOUISE WESTBURY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
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DIVISION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Financing and Implementation of Community Development Programs by the Alberta Government" submitted by Marilyn Louise Westbury in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Community Development.

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# ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of Alberta government involvement in the field of community development. To this end, seven criteria of community development are applied to government financed programs. Those programs which meet the criteria are tabled along with program estimates of expenditure for the 1976-77 fiscal year.

Because the community development programs are categorized through stated government program objectives, interview/questionnaires are intended to solicit additional information about the actual implementation of government financed community development programs. In addition, an attempt is made to discover trends in Alberta financing of community development programs by examining appropriate budget allocations over a nine year period.

This study reveals that community development expenditures, when expressed as a percentage of total budgetary expenditures, are relatively low, approximately three percent of total budgetary appropriations. Moreover, when viewed from a nine year perspective, this low figure shows only slight variation. However, some changes in program emphasis is noted over this nine year period. Funding that was formerly directed to "Human Resources" programs has since been re-allocated to programs having more of an educational emphasis, such as ACCESS and Students' Assistance.

Responses to interview/questionnaires are solicited from randomly selected community development departments. These responses

reveal that the main weakness in the implementation of community development programs is the evaluation component. Although respondents indicate in their answers pertaining to objectives that certain outcomes are desirable as program goals, none reported that they made an attempt to fully measure these outcomes. Without an adequate system of evaluation, it is impossible to judge how successful departments are at achieving objectives.

Successful implementation of community development programs rests on certain prerequisites. The goals are long term, emphasize human, 'self-help' development and stress participatory democracy. Observations from this thesis indicate that no truly effective mechanism for citizen participation has been developed by the Alberta government. The present policy of increased centralization of decision-making at the provincial level hinders the possibility of more citizen input through local or municipal decision-making.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

> Our basic confidence must rest, as it always has, on the conviction that a free and competitive economy and an open and democratic society not only provide the basic human satisfactions that all men have always sought, but provide, as well, the most powerful engine for progress that mankind has yet devised. Government can and must clear away obstacles, reduce frictions, prevent abuses, and help steer the economy between the shoals of stagnation and the whirlpools of inflation. But the basic energizing force continues to be the strength, the will, and the imagination of free men.[1]

The foundations of democracy rest on the same values and beliefs which characterize community development. The cornerstone of both is the will, the strength and the imagination of free men. Thus, the development of man is the central and ultimate concern. Both community development and democracy focus on man in his role as a communal actor. Collective decision-making or collective action is seen as the form of human activity through which maximum gains are realized for all parties. Democratic government and community development can give to society something that even the most benevolent dictatorship cannot because "only the members of a community themselves can authentically speak for their own interests in any concrete choice between contending alternatives."[2]

---

[1] Gardner Ackley, quoted without further reference in Lawrence C. Pierce, The Politics of Fiscal Policy Formation (California: Goodyear Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 21.

[2] L. L. Wade and R. L. Curry, Jr., A Logic of Public Policy: Aspects of Political Economy (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1970), p. 134.

However, in modern democracies, communities or interest groups in society are heard mainly through elected representatives. In contrast, one of the tenets of community development is that citizens become direct participants in decision-making. The assumption is that citizens should be involved in the planning of their own futures. Such a system of direct participation can be maintained through existing government machinery. It requires decentralized decision-making and a government responsive to the needs and desires of individual communities. It may even require a wider distribution of power, funds and authority to be truly effective. Practicing community development through the existing government has its advantages. Government provides an all-encompassing, stable infrastructure which can supply the permanent coercion necessary to equitably distribute the costs and benefits of any scheme.

Past and present Alberta governments have stated their involvement in community development-type programs and it is the purpose of this thesis to measure both the degree and manner of Alberta government involvement in the field.

Statement of the Problem. This thesis will attempt to analyze to what extent the government of Alberta finances programs which can be categorically identified as community development programs. The programs will be identified through specific criteria which are outlined in the literature as critical concepts in the field of community development. Generally, community development involves a self-help approach to social change which encourages involvement and participation in the decision-making process by those who are ultimately affected. Secondly, an attempt will be made to discover if the manner in which the programs are implemented leads to the successful achievement of stated objectives. An underlying assumption is that the degree of commitment the Alberta government has to community development will be reflected in the order of priorities for budget expenditures. Commitment is also gauged by the efforts of government to achieve stated goals. Government credibility is established when the stated goals coincide with achieved goals.

Importance of the Study. This study has relevance for the discipline of community development as well as for society in general. Community development is seen as a human resources development vehicle ultimately directed at helping all members of society attain a desirable quality of life. It is a method which reflects basic democratic values. Most governments, at the level of rhetoric, profess concern for freedom, justice and human welfare. This study is an attempt to judge the extent to which the Alberta government actually does pursue these goals.

In addition, an attempt will be made to expose trends in government policy by categorizing several years of community development expenditures. Suggested strategies for future action can be deduced from present trends.

Because of increases in government spending and control, community developers cannot escape the influence of this expanding bureaucracy. If such is the case, effective methods for dealing with this body should be sought. The point of departure for such a study can be the present Alberta government involvement in community development and current dedication to the underlying values.

Method and Organization of Thesis. Chapter II of the study provides a review of community development literature, a brief history of Alberta government involvement in the field and the selection of seven criteria which will be applied to existing government-financed programs to identify those which can be categorized as community development.

In Chapter III, a content analysis is made of the four provincial treasury books entitled, Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77. Those budget items which meet the pre-selected criteria for community development are tabled along with the amount appropriated for each program. This content analysis is based on the articulated government objectives for each program. No attempt is made in Chapter III to analyze whether or not government practice is in accord with stated objectives. The latter topic is dealt with in Chapter IV and the author's analysis is contained in Chapter VI.

Chapter IV consists of an analysis of the responses to an interview-questionnaire (Appendix A) collected in six randomly selected government departments categorized as community development departments. The object is to ascertain whether the implementation of the programs fulfills the stated objectives.

Present budget expenditures in the field of community development will be compared with similar, previous budget expenditures in Chapter V. The object will be to determine if specific policy trends emerge.

Chapter VI provides the summary and implications of the study and the author's interpretation of the findings.

# CHAPTER II

# COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

## Review of the Literature

Although the term community development has been in general use for more than twenty-five years, no universally accepted and concise definition has emerged. The name has expanded to encompass a wide range of meanings. The origin of community development is unclear, but after World War II it began to be sanctioned as an approach to rural development. One of the earliest definitions was formulated at the 1948 Cambridge Conference on African Administration:

> A movement designed to promote better living for the whole community, with the active participation and if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement.[1]

The source of this definition suggests that community development was used as a means of improving living conditions in rural communities in third world countries. This rural emphasis was characteristic of the village level community development program inaugurated in newly-independent India in 1952.[2]

The United Nations formulated its own definition of community development and elaborated on this definition in many of its publications:

---

[1] Report of the Ashbridge Conference on Social Development,"Social Development in the British Colonial Territories " (London: Great Britain Colonial Office, 1965 ), p. 14.

[2] S. C. Dube, Indian's Changing Villages (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1958).

> The term community development has come into international usage to denote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic and social and cultural conditions of communities to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.[3]

In a later Report the UN added:

> The two major processes by which the efforts of the people to improve their conditions are stimulated and assisted are education (formal and informal) and the promotion of effective organizations of the people. The two essential aspects are the participation of the people themselves and provision of technical and other services for which in general Governments must be responsible.[4]

Various authors have contributed to the wide range of definitions by adding their community development descriptions and principles.

T. R. Batten thought that,

> The goal is not so much to accomplish or realize communal projects which will improve the living conditions of the people, but to help them to learn a way of living and working together which they may apply at any time to any problems which affect their communal life.[5]

---

[3] United Nations, "Twentieth Report of the Administative Committee on Co-ordination to the Economic and Social Council" (E/2931, annex III, part two, 1956).

[4] United Nations, "Report of the United Nations Mission to Survey Community Development in Africa" (1965).

[5] T. R. Batten, Communities and Their Development (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 64.

Biddle and Biddle emphasize personal growth aspects:

> Basically, community development is a social process by which human beings become more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world.[6]

A Canadian look at community development stresses the need for de-emphasizing services and attempting to change the unfortunate situations which created the dependency on services :

> For community development the provision for and the delivery of services is only one and perhaps the least important aspect. Its main thrust and principal raison d'etre as a method of intervention is to form the causes and conditions shaping the quality of life in a society so that as few people as possible in it would depend on any kind of service.[7]

Some clarification of the existing ambiguities in defintions is provided by Charles Erasmus[8] who surveyed 59 policy articles to ascertain what features authors most often stressed as characteristic of community development. Sixty percent of the sample stressed "self-help" group action through community participation; forty percent cited "self-reliance" as critical concepts. The emphasis was decidedly on non-material goals. Only 10 percent of the authors sampled stressed material goals, such as improved housing, health, diet or better living standards.

---

[6] William W. Biddle and Loureide J. Biddle, The Community Development Process (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), p. 78.

[7] Francis J. Bregha, "Community Development in Canada: Problems and Strategies," Community Development Journal 5, 1 (January, 1970): 35.

[8] Charles J. Erasmus, "C.D. and the Encogido Syndrome," Human Organization 27, 1 (Spring, 1968): 65-72.

Erasmus criticized this insubstantial approach to community development. He felt that it was unrealistic to stress intangible goals in development because of a phenomenon which he described as the "encogido syndrome."[9] Basically, he sees backward, apathetic people as trapped in a cycle of poverty and deprivation. The behavior of these apathetic groups shows a strict adherence to practices and customs which perpetuate their position--the self-fulfilling prophesy. Moreover, the conviction that self-help grows out of the "felt needs" of people for change rests on what Erasmus feels is a very questionable assumption--that people do feel a need for something other than what they already know, believe and experience.

Further, Erasmus was highly critical of the lack of analytical self-study among community developers. His conclusion was that community developers were more devoted to "eulogizing intangible goals"[10] than they were to critical self-study. Erasmus' view of community development is somewhat akin to Mark Twain's view of the world: "The trouble with the world (in this case, community development) is not that people know too little but that they know many things that ain't so."

---

[9] Ibid., pp. 70-71.

[10] Ibid., p. 72.

Among authors some concensus does emerge from the definitions. The intangible goals of self-help, self-reliance and self-determination seem to be the prime goals cited. But most authors do include tangible elements--the technical services, material and economic provisions, education, better standards of living and improved housing. Perhaps the perceptual confusion springs from the fact that no pat and precise formula for the practice of community development emerges from the literature. No one can say that one part improved housing, plus two parts increased standard of living, plus three parts self-determination equals guaranteed community development.

Moreover, the literature does not provide a specific temporal order, a sequence of events which constitutes logical community development. The authors merely point out that material and technical services may be necessary in the development of a co-operative community. What Erasmus[11] seems to indicate is that development is sequential by necessity; that is, changes in the material environment and in socio-economic status are necessary prerequisites of self-determination. Thus, self-help follows economic development.

The policy literature in community development avoids any formula, perhaps in the realization that each situation is unique and requires an original blend of techniques and principles. This kind of approach should not be too distressing for social scientists. Certainly, many aspects of the human condition have defied formulation. Even in disciplines which operate using sophisticated statistical tools do inaccuracies still plague the experts:

---

[11] Ibid.

> Consider for a moment that we can pinpoint a target on the moon, yet economists cannot forecast the state of our economy a few months ahead without the possibility of considerable error.[12]

In many cases, it is the human element which complicates the efforts of economists. Changes in international relations or strikes are noneconomic in nature but cause alterations in economic predictions. In much the same way, community developers seem to feel that there are too many unknown variables in communities to enable a precise formulation or methodology.

Another source of confusion surrounding community development is that it has been considered in various ways to suit the meaning or point of view of different people. Sanders[13] discusses four varying interpretations. First, community development is often represented as a movement, a philosophy of development underscored with an almost religious fervour. The United Nations defines it as a process, implying transition from one stage to another. Thirdly, it is often called a method, an approach emphasizing citizen participation and direct involvement in development. Finally, community development is often called a program, a formally organized activity with a separate staff and administration.

---

[12] Stanley S. Surrey, quoted in The Wall Street Journal (September 12, 1967), p. 1.

[13] I. T. Sanders, "Theories of Community Development," Rural Sociology, 23, 1 (March, 1958),: 1-12.

Those who conceive of community development as a process or method based on a particular philosophy tend to see their role as that of the helper-facilitator. Their approach is to create community spirit, to help people to work together and to encourage positive community attitudes receptive to change. What they deem necessary for accomplishing these ends are institutions capable of imparting the necessary skills to existing personnel.[14]

In the camp opposed to this view are those who feel that philosophy, process or method must be implemented through the creation of a program. "As a set of new attitudes, ideas, concepts and techniques that challenges the status quo, community development can succeed only if it develops an organization and a programme committed to the advancement of its ideology."[15] This latter view brings in the concept of integration. Without a separate organization and program, adequate coordination of services is difficult. Moreover, the separate structure a program creates provides a mechanism for linking groups operating at the local, regional or national level.

Basically, this latter view stresses all four aspects of community development: it is a philosophy of development or a movement which employs a method or approach designed to bring about a process of transition from one phase to another through a formally organized and administered program.

---

[14] United Nations, Popular Participation in Development: Emerging Trends in Community Development, (New York: United Nations, 1971), pp. 9-10.

[15] Ibid., p. 10.

Although this fourfold view of community development is often used, it must be remembered that policy writers in community development often isolate one aspect while excluding the other features of community development. For example, Roland Warren stresses that community development is a process in which there is "a deliberate and sustained attempt to strengthen the horizontal pattern of a community."[16]

Whatever varying definitions spring from the literature, community development was proclaimed as a new hope for developing countries in the 1950's. It was seen as a technique for working with people to improve social and economic conditions. This international hope was transplanted into Canada in the early '60's. In a decade charged with social protest, the time was ripe for this type of innovation.

## A Brief History of Community Development in Alberta

Canadian community development grew out of an emerging awareness, or consciousness, about prevailing social circumstances. People were able to perceive the parallel between poverty in Canada and poverty in the third world. Growing numbers of people were convinced that action had to be taken.

---

[16] Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), p. 324.

Coupled with this new consciousness were international social movements which gained prominence. The Civil Rights Movement, the Anti-War Movement and the Women's Liberation Movement, rooted in the United States, quickly spread to the Canadian scene. New organizations flourished. These new social movements were built on the premise that mutual co-operation and broad based confrontation with authority would produce the desired changes leading to a more just society.

Cam Mackie[17] ties the threads of community development to the Canadian historical reality. Louis Riel and Nellie McClung addressed themselves to social justice. They used a confrontation approach to press for social change. Moses Coady, in developing producers co-operatives among Nova Scotian fishermen, stimulated people to become politically and economically active on their own behalf. All were instrumental in setting the stage for future community development in Canada.

Out of these social movements there arose a group of innovators, leaders who became the inspiration and vehicle for community development in Canada. Jean Legasse, Jim Whitford, Benny Baich, Vic Valentine and Walter Rudnicki[18] expended a tremendous amount of energy in making the issues visible. Reports, conferences and papers were used as instruments for bringing community development to the attention of government.

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[17] Cam Mackie, "Community Development: Where Have We Been?" An address to a meeting of Community Developers in Toronto, Ontario (February 24, 1977).

[18] Ibid., pp. 4-6.

The Alberta government, trailing Manitoba's lead, became interested in community development and launched the first provincially-sponsored Community Development Branch in 1964. The initial focus of the program was on Indian communities, where conditions were considered most in need of change. Moreover, welfare costs, though substantial and mounting, were not effective in alleviating the poverty and misery so prevalent in rural Indian communities. Mr. James Whitford, who had spent three years working in community development in Manitoba, was hired by the government as Community Development Co-ordinator. Whitford saw community development as "an educational-motivational process designed to create conditions favourable to economic and social change,"[19] a process which would eventually prove to be the solution to the poverty problems in Indian communities in Alberta. The government decision to finance community development in Alberta was possibly born, not only of the concern for those toward whom the programs were directed, but also of the practical belief that reduced welfare costs would be one outcome of a successful program.

The Community Development Branch[20] was administratively well designed. Although it was initially under the Department of Industry and Tourism, direct access to the power source was provided by a Cabinet Committee of four ministers responsible for policy and program. One successful aspect of the program was that it demonstrated the need for more extensive co-operation and co-ordination among the various departments and agencies of government. In a speech introduced by Hon. F. C. Colborne to the Alberta legislature in 1964, the minister outlined the basic beliefs which formed the foundation of community development. One of the beliefs was:

---

[19] James Whitford, "Community Development in Alberta," (Government of Alberta, Nov. 25, 1965).

[20] Telefacts No. 13, April 4, 1964. Legislation was passed creating the Community Development Branch of the Department of Industry and Tourism.

> Where the need for change is acute, *it is important that government services seek to co-ordinate their programs* (italics mine) in order to influence each area of local activity according to the readiness and wishes of the local people.[21]

The implementation of the program did not live up to initial expectations. Even as a co-ordinating service, the Community Development Branch faced resistance from the civil service in various departments, the latter refusing to co-operate with the Community Development Officers. This set up a chain of events which eventually spelled the death of the program. There arose:

> . . . a counter reaction within the C.D. group that culminated in a redefinition by the C.D. Co-ordinator of their role as little more than one of "social animation," which could easily be carried on without bothering to relate to line departments (Whitford, 1968). This new role could easily--and did--become a kind of game that appeared to be relished by some C.D. Officers, but that may have accomplished little of lasting value in the communities except a confused, local hostility again taking underdeveloped communities nowhere, but with more noise than before.[22]

However, some years elapsed before the program was officially abandoned. In the interim, the concepts of interdepartmental co-ordination and human resources development continued to ferment in the legislature. In 1967, the Government of Alberta published The White Paper on Human Resources Development. This paper was a reaffirmation of the government's innovative approach to co-ordinating physical and human resources in a total development package. To implement such a philosophy the Human Resources Development Authority Act[23] was passed in 1967 creating a new co-ordinating government body. This was not conceived as another department of government for delivering services but HRDA was to foster interdepartmental and intergovernmental co-operation.

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[21] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[22] Isaac N. Glick, "An Analysis of the Human Resources Development Authority in Alberta." A Master of Arts thesis, University of Alberta, 1972, pp. 28-29.

> Essentially the Human Resources Development Authority is not a department of government, but the senior co-ordinating agency which designs comprehensive social and economic development plans through consultation and involvement. By contrast, departments of government are the implementing agencies which carry out the actual programs, originating from the comprehensive plans.[24]

The Community Development Branch was subsumed under The Human Resources Development Authority. Subsequently, both HRDA and the Community Development Branch commenced a downhill slide which ended for HRDA in 1972 when it became defunct. Internal problems plagued HRDA and the government was not sufficiently impressed by its accomplishments to maintain full support.

Expansion of the Community Development Program ceased as of March 31, 1971. It was the Indian and Metis Associations which requested the freeze on the provincial program.[25] This request came at a time when funds were beginning to be channeled directly to native organizations themselves rather than through other agencies, like government, working with natives.

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[23] The Human Resources Development Authority, "Report and Projections," Government of Alberta, June, 1971.

[24] Erich Schmidt, "Land for Living," (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1969), p. 22.

The demise of HRDA and community development is often associated with the 1971 change of government from The Social Credit to the Progressive Conservative Party. Government literature[26] indicates, however, that problems and dissatisfactions started much earlier than the 1971 election. Nonetheless, no subsequent Community Development Branch was ever established.

The death of the program also spelled the death of community development as a co-ordinating function of government. The objectives of the Branch had been to serve the total needs of the community by linking the community not to any specialized government service but to provide the balance for all services--agriculture, business, education or health--according to the interests and needs of the community. In actual practice, the Community Development Officers did not fulfill the objectives since they became increasingly alienated from government departments and abandoned the co-ordinating role initially envisioned. As an "educational-motivational process," the emphasis began to rest on "motivation," often interpreted by government as rabble-rousing. The Community Development Officers were more myopic in their educational endeavours.

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[25] Human Resources Development Authority, "Report and Projections," Government of Alberta, June, 1971.

[26] Ibid.

The communities became sufficiently aroused but remained incapable of translating their wants into favourable economic or social changes. Moreover, the growing barrier between the C.D. Officers and civil servants interfered with the provision of the necessary government services.

In addition, other features outlined in the literature as characteristic of community development were not present in the overall operation of the Community Development Branch. The program did not promote better living for the communities, possibly because the citizens did not "learn a way of living and working together which they may apply at any time to any problems which affect their communal life."[27] What they did learn was a method of confronting government to demand more services. Bregha's[28] definition implies that effective community development creates a community less dependent on government services not more demanding of them. Dunham[29] reaffirms that community development is based on a "philosophy of self-help," implying positive steps to enhance independence by developing the human resources within a community.

The problems encountered in the first government-financed community development program were problems of implementation. The anticipated objectives of the program were consistent with community development principles as expressed in the literature. Few people voiced any opposition to the concept of HRDA. Like motherhood, it was difficult to disagree with it. However, implementation problems seemed to cluster around the following concerns:

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[27] Batten, p. 64.

[28] Bregha, p. 34.

[29] Arthur Dunham, The New Community Organization (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1970), p. 172.

1. The program was not communicated carefully enough to give all civil servants concerned an accurate knowledge of the aims and objectives of HRDA.

2. Line departments felt threatened by the "Authority" image because they were accustomed to the autonomy that a departmental system fosters. Departments resented the horizontal co-ordination.

3. There was a lack of leadership due to poor personnel selection.

4. The program lacked Cabinet support.

Further illumination of these problems which plagued HRDA is provided by the following direct quotes collected by Glick from various government employees who were actively involved with HRDA:

> "Sovereignity of departmental system led to resistance and hostility toward HRDA's innovativeness."
>
> "More care in personnel selection."
>
> "Inadequate communication of the concept."
>
> "Authority Figure (HRDA) threatened traditional roles."
>
> "How not to introduce change - manner in which HRDA was introduced to civil servants."
>
> "Cabinet ambivalence - only partial support."
>
> "Fanfare built false expectations."
>
> "Staff morale low - leadership lacking."
>
> "An 'Indian Agency' image.'

> "Jurisdictional gaps and overlaps must be overcome."
>
> "Co-ordination not achieved by edict, but by involved participation."[30]

Thus, HRDA never fully became the "co-ordinating agency which designs comprehensive social and economic development plans through consultation and involvement."[31] Without the necessary co-operation from the implementing agencies, government departments, little was accomplished. The very structure of HRDA, as a co-ordinating government authority, demanded the fullest co-operation of all government departments.

No subsequent government Human Resources Development Authority followed the demise of HRDA in 1972. Presently, there is no single, powerful body which is responsible for co-ordinating all departmental activities which relate to human development and which has direct access to Cabinet. Currently, there are various programs, in separate government departments, with stated objectives which parallel community development principles. Some branches, such as the Northern Development Branch, still maintain a co-ordinating role but one more limited in scope than HRDA.

## Selected Criteria for Defining Community Development Programs

The focus in this thesis will be on those government programs where articulated objectives are closely related to community development principles. The term community development is no longer used in the same sense that it was in the 1960's. Although it still appears in budget statements, it is subsumed under larger departments and afforded a relatively subordinate place. For example, "Community Development and Referral" is listed as a sub-program of minor expenditure under "Services for the Handicapped," a division of "Social Services and Community Health." In this case, community development is confined to a specific minority in a given population.

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[30] Glick, quotes are randomly selected from those listed on pp. 61-67.

[31] Erich Schmidt, "Land for Living," (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1969), p.22.

However, although the term community development may not be used, there are presently government-sponsored programs which may satisfy the criteria for community development. These programs come under a variety of departments and an assortment of different descriptors. The important question is whether or not they function as community development vehicles.

To ascertain the extent of government-sponsored community development in Alberta, some of the general characteristics of community development as outlined by Dunham[32] will be applied to existing government programs to isolate those programs which meet the general criteria. Not all of the author's characteristics will be applied, but those selected are most often cited in the literature as critical concepts in community development. The following, selected from Dunham, are popular concepts:

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[32] Dunham, pp. 197-174.

1. Community development is always concerned with bringing about social change in the community.

2. Community development is based upon the philosophy of self-help and participation by as many members of the community as possible.

3. Community development usually involves technical assistance--in such forms as personnel, equipment, supplies, money, or consultation--from governmental or intergovernmental sources or from voluntary organizations, both domestic and foreign.

4. Community development is concerned with both task goals and process goals; that is, it is concerned with achieving certain concrete objectives and with strengthening the qualities of participation, self-direction, and co-operation. . .

5. Community development involves an educational process . . .

6. So far as possible, a community development program should be based on the 'felt needs' and desires and aspirations of the people of the community . . .

7. Community development is basically democratic in its philosophy. Logically, it is tied up with such ideas as ultimate control by the people, a substantial degree of freedom by individuals and groups, a considerable amount of governmental decentralization, and widespread citizen participation.[33]

The author has selected these criteria because, in her opinion, they represent the concepts most often cited in community development literature. Because no universal and concise definition of community development exists, the selection may be considered an arbitrary one.

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[33] Ibid.

## CHAPTER III

# ALBERTA GOVERNMENT FINANCING OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

## Introduction

> . . . government is not something which just happens. It has to be "laid on" by somebody.
>
> T.D. Weldon, States and Morals

The government of Alberta annually "lays on" the people of the province a series of programs and services designed to serve the citizens for the upcoming fiscal year. The provincial economic stategy is outlined in the budget to enable the legislature to review and to vote the necessary funds for programs and services. This chapter constitues an exercise to ascertain to what extent the government of Alberta finances community development programs; that is, what programs meet the seven criteria of community development drafted in the previous chapter.

The information is extracted from four government publications: Budget Address 1976[1], Estimates of Expenditure, 1976-77: Programme Estimates,[2] Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77; Supplementary Information: Capital Expenditure Estimates,[3] and Estimates of Expenditure

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[1] Alberta, Treasury Department, Budget Address, 1976. Tabled in the legislature on March 19, 1976.

[2] Idem, Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77: Programme Estimates.

[3] Idem, Estimates of Expenditure, 1976-77: Capital Expenditure Estimates.

1976-77: Supplementary Information: Element Details.[4] These sources provide all projected costs of programs and services financed by the government. Also contained in the references are details of government programs--the objectives of programs, the program delivery mechanism and the services provided by each program. The actual service being provided to the public is identified by program and sub-program, the latter in some cases also indicate the beneficiaries of that service. The separate booklet entitled Estimates of Expenditure, 1976-77:Element Details,[5] indicates how each service is delivered to the public. An element can be a grant or a payment for those programs involving financial assistance provided by the province, "or it can be a particular organizational unit within a department. In either case, the element represents the delivery mechanism for the service specified by the programme or sub-programme title."[6]

The objectives listed for each program will be matched to the seven criteria of community development. Where the objectives are overly brief or vague, the delivery mechanism and services provided are further indicators of community development. In some cases, not the program nor the sub-program under it, but only one element detail can be categorized as community development. In this chapter, the criteria are matched only to the articulated objectives of government. No attempt will be made to judge whether or not the programs are community development in practice. Certain limitations surround the present exercise.

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[4] Idem, Estimates of Expenditure, 1976-77: Element Details.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., Preface.

The figures being used are not actual but are estimates of expenditures. The latter are selected for two reasons. The estimates provide the most up-to-date information since audited statements in the form of public accounts materialize at a much later date. Secondly, estimates tend not to differ too greatly from actual expenditures, at least for the present purpose of drawing generalizations about categories of expenditures.

No attempt to identify the prime source of funding is made. However, the public sector in Canada includes a vast network of transfer payments from federal to provincial to municipal governments. As a case in point, the International Development Assistance Programme, which qualifies as a community development program according to the criteria, is financed through funds 100 percent recoverable from the Government of Canada. Nonetheless, its inclusion is justified where the province is the party which decides if and how the funds are to be spent.

A third limitation concerns omissions. There is a possibility that some community development efforts are not evident from the departmental sub-program and element details. That is, they may be subsumed under the departmental support services or some other general classification which masks the actual function or service provided. These omissions should be minimal, however, since current budget estimates provide for the first time all costs, including capital costs, related to each service provided for the public. Former estimates used a format which listed appropriations, the latter tending to reflect organizational units but not actual costs for each service.

In this chapter, no attempt will be made to ascertain whether or not the implementation of the government programs reflects the stated objectives. The objectives are accepted at face value.

By using the projected expenditures for government programs, the writer is not trying to convey the false impression that "meaningful benefits from government programs can be expressed solely in dollars and cents."[7] But the actual financial backing of community development type programs by the government is one quantitative indication of their commitment to certain basic democratic principles. By promoting citizen participation in development and social change, the government is expressing confidence in the judgment of the electorate. By providing free access to information and knowledge, a nonpecuniary item, government may be sowing the seeds for future monetary benefits from its human capital. "Recognition of the importance of human capital in assessing the economic viability of a nation dates back to Adam Smith."[8]

## Alberta Fiscal Policy and Community Development

> To underline the priority our Government places on social programmes I would like to draw attention to the fact that of the total proposed $211 million expenditure increase over the 1975-76 forecast, $195 million or 92% of this increase is for social programmes, while the net increase for all other pro-

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[7] Raymond A. Bauer, Social Indicators (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1966), p. 11.

[8] Elchanan Cohn, Public Expenditure Analysis: With Special Reference to Human Resources (Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath and Co., 1972), p. 102.

> grammes is only $17 million or 8% of the total. Mr. Speaker, the 1976 expenditure programme while maintaining overall restraint reflects the commitment of our Government to ensuring that our social programmes and institutions continue to have priority in the expenditures programme of the Provincial Government.[9]

When the Hon. Merv Leitch uses the term social program he does so in the broadest sense. He explains that the net increase for all other programs (non-social programs) is only $17 million. However, when increases to the Departments of Energy and Natural Resources, Attorney General, Government Services, Solicitor General and Utilities and Telephones are totalled, the sum amounts to a $35,149,290 increase over the 1975-76 forecast. Additional increases in other areas not obviously social in orientation are also outlined in the budget. Since Hon. Leitch does not define what constitutes a social program, we can only assume that the term is used to accommodate many items which would be excluded under a more common use of the term.

This study deals with only one aspect of social programs. It precludes many social endeavours because they do not qualify as community development according to the pre-selected criteria. Thus, general education, hospitalization, medical care and direct welfare payments are excluded. Emphasis here is on those programs in which beneficiaries are often involved in the design and implementation and which attempt to emphasize citizen participation. Similarly, the programs identified tend to promote social change through free access to knowledge and information.

From an analysis of the government documents, two categories of community development emerge, primary community development programs and secondary community development programs. The former are listed in Table I and the latter are listed in Table 2. After applying the seven criteria selected from Dunham,[10] the arbitrary division is made because the primary community development programs more obviously satisfy all of the given criteria. The secondary programs are categorized separately. These programs have an overall emphasis which basically reflects community development practices and principles. However, not all of the criteria seem to be adequately reflected in the secondary programs. That is, there is some vagueness or doubt surrounding each item in the secondary list.

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[9] Alberta Budget Address, 1976, Hon. Merv Leitch, pp. 9-10.

In Table I, 13 programs are designated as primary community development and are illustrated with the estimated 1976-77 expenditures. Listed are their respective government departments as well as the programs, sub-programs or elements and their costs. At times it is the specific delivery mechanism of the service that distinguishes it as a community development program. The aggregate sum of the projected primary community development expenditure is $48,317,488 out of total projected budget expenditures of $2,961,449,507.[11]

All of the items included in primary community development have the following characteristics:

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[10] Dunham, pp. 172-173.

[11] Alberta, "Programme Estimates," p. 7

1. social change
2. self-help and community participation
3. technical assistance
4. task goals and process goals
5. an educational process
6. the "felt needs" and desires of the people
7. a democratic philosophy.[12]

## Primary Community Development Program Analysis

Each program rests on the authority of certain legal acts and has stated objectives and services.

Department of Advanced Education and Manpower. The Community Vocational Centres were selected over other higher educational institutions as exemplifying community development because they are locally based and provide programs which reflect the aspirations of each community. They do not have a predetermined curriculum developed by the government, but a flexible program designed and administered at the community level. "CVC's were conceived by both inventors and provincial policy-makers as community-level agencies uniquely appropriate for underdeveloped or

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[12] Dunham, pp. 172-173

## TABLE I

## GOVERNMENT FINANCED PRIMARY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

| Government Department | Program | Sub-Program | Elements | Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | $ |
| Advanced Education and Manpower | 1. Assistance to Higher and Further Educational Institutions | Provincially Administered Institutions | Community Vocational Centres | 978,269 |
| Agriculture | 2. Rural Development Assistance | 1. Family Farm Services | 1. Farm Business Management | 438,628 |
| | | | Rural Resources | 6,556,627 |
| | | | Farm Labour | 488,283 |
| | | 2. Advisory Services | 2. Regional | 5,295,815 |
| | 3. International Development Assistance | Canadian International Development Agency | * | 1,245,148 |
| Business Development and Tourism | 4. Development of Business and Tourism | Northern Development | 1. Support | 65,000 |
| | | | 2. Co-ordination and Development Assistance | 358,000 |
| | | | 3. Northern Alberta Development Council | 55,000 |

TABLE I - continued

| Government Department | Program | Sub-Program | Elements | Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77 $ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Consumer and Corporate Affairs | 5. Business and Co-operative Formation and Regulation | Development and Regulation of Co-operatives | Co-operative Development Branch | 391,996 |
| Culture | 6. International Assistance | Financial Assistance | Matching Grants to International Aid Agencies | 2,453,000 |
| Environment | 7. Land Conservation | Resource Co-ordination | * | 5,915,000 |
|  | 8. Overview and Co-ordination of Environment Conservation | Environment Conservation Authority | * | 897,000 |
| Executive Council | 9. Support to Native Organizations | Administration Support and Funding to 10 Native Organications | * | 1,887,000 |
|  | 10. Women's Information | Women's Bureau | * | 76,362 |

TABLE I - Continued

| Government Department | Program | Sub-Program | Elements | Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77 $ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Municipal Affairs | 11. Support to Community Planning Services | Co-ordination and Administration of Community Planning | Planning Co-ordination | 89,750 |
| | | | Planning Research | 84,208 |
| | | | Regional Planning | 1,276,696 |
| | | | Planning Support | 260,376 |
| | | Funds for Seven Regional Planning Commissions | * | 3,318,000 |
| | 12. Co-ordination of Northeast Alberta Programs | Northeast Alberta Regional Commission | * | 633,180 |
| Social Services and Community Health | 13. Preventive and Specialized Social Services | Financial Assistance to Municipalities for P.S.S. | 11 services provided | 11,034,740 |
| | | Vocational Opportunities for Employables | Opportunity Corps | 1,867,340 |
| | | Development Projects for Metis | * | 1,868,210 |
| | | Purchased Services and Agency Grants for Adults | * | 823,860 |
| | | COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM | TOTAL | 48,317,488 |

Source: Adapted from Alberta, Treasury Depatment, Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77: Supplementary Information, Element Details, Tabled March 19, 1976.

* No sub-program or element breakdown.

isolated communities with native Canadian populations."[13]

The stated objective of the program assistance to higher and further educational institutions is: "To provide for the establishment, operation, administration and co-ordination of higher and further education programmes, services and institutions."[14] However, program support also provides for:

> . . . programme development in institutions; provides for co-ordination and operation of short-term vocational training programmes for adults; provides grants to organizations and groups providing services and programmes in higher and further education.[15]

The Community Vocational Centres are a unique example of community involvement in both task goals, upgrading education; and process goals, strengthening participation, self-direction and co-operation.

Department of Agriculture. Rural Development Assistance is designed "to provide rural Alberta with technical and professional services with regard to farm and community development."[16] An extension staff, housed in six regional offices, assists farmers and communities by responding to their unique needs and problems. The program is intended to promote social change through education, "engineering services to increase efficiency and develop the farmstead; advice and analysis on farm management; financial assistance."[17] Citizens are provided with the feedback mechanism of the Regional Extension Service and the department solicits and responds to the requests of rural Albertans. The task goals increase production, the process goals lie in the development of human resources more capable of future self-direction.

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[13] Glen A. Eyford, Research Co-ordinator, Documentation and Analysis of Development Programs in Canada (International Development Research Centre, 1974) pp. 138-139.

[14] Alberta, Treasury Department, Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77: Programme Estimates, p. 14.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., p. 30.

International Development Assistance operates through the Canadian International Development Agency with the objective "to provide a regional development plan for three provinces in East Indonesia."[18]

The professional staff from the Alberta Agriculture Department are utilized to provice "analysis and expertise on the development of human and physical resources."[19] The assumption here is that this total approach to education and social change entails a democratic formula for involving the people concerned and that the social change grows out of the aspirations of the people in East Indonesia. As in most community development programs outlined in this study, the actual technical assistance is directly furnished by the Government of Alberta.

Department of Business Development and Tourism. The general departmental objective is "to provide assistance for growth, development and diversification of our economic base. . ."[20] However, it is the Northern Development sub-program which qualifies as a community development plan. The department lists the services provided through Northern Development as:

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., p. 32.

[19] Ibid., p. 32.

> Research and analysis of unique conditions affecting development of Northern Alberta; development of specific policy recommendations with respect to delivery of all Government programmes in Northern Alberta; support to the Northern Alberta Development Council.[21]

The Northern Alberta Development Council acts as an arm of Northern Development and:

> . . . is designed to increase the amount of public participation in the planning and design of delivery systems for Provincial Government services in Northern Alberta. The Council itself, since it consists of northern residents, sees things through northern eyes, and supplies the Government with a northern point of view on a wide range of issues, supplementing and complementing the perspectives of northern MLA's. In addition, by means of public meetings organized for the receipt of briefs from northern people, the Council itself maintains its own contact with the "grass roots" of the North.[22]

From this detailed description of the NADC, it would appear that Northern Development in Alberta reflects the seven criteria of community development. Its goals embrace all aspects of development--human, economic, educational, and community development through strong local government. The latter reflects the democratic ideal--government by the people through direct participation rather than by participation through delegates.

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[20] Ibid., p. 58.

[21] Ibid., p. 58.

[22] Alberta, Northern Alberta Development Council, Annual Report, 1975, p. 2.

Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. The Development and Regulation of Co-operatives is a sub-program which "promotes the development of financially sound co-operatives and ensures the continued viability of existing co-operatives in order to protect the interest of members and the public."[23] The vehicle for this services is the Co-operative Development Branch.

The inclusion of this program rests not simply on the nebulous objective but on the history of the co-operative movement generally. Co-operatives have been utilized in Canada as vehicles for social change which involve education, self-help economics and group action. Traditionally, they rest on the democratic ideal that all men should be involved in the planning, decision-making and implementing of processes which involve their life and well-being. The optimal goal is co-operation so that all members may become the beneficiaries of an abundant life. These characteristics are consonant with the general features of community development.

Department of Culture. Through its International Assistance program, the Alberta government provides over two million "to assist in alleviating world poverty and hunger."[24] The services provided are:

> Financial assistance to International Aid Agencies by matching dollar for dollar, on the basis of approved project submissions, voluntary donations made to these agencies for projects in underdeveloped countries.[25]

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[23] Alberta, "Programme Estimates," p. 68.

[24] Ibid., p. 86.

[25] Ibid.

The single form of technical assistance provided by the Alberta government in this program is money. The government does not initiate projects in underdeveloped countries nor does it provide equipment, personnel or supplies through this program. However, although the government does not initiate the social change, it approves projects for submission and thus filters the kind of international assistance provided. It appears logical to assume that the criteria the government uses for project approval would be consistent with its alternate program of International Assistance supported through the Department of Agriculture. That is, support would be given for total development-human, technical, agricultural, educational-designed and implemented on democratic principles.

Department of Environment. The Land Conservation Program has a service entitled Resource Co-ordination which "co-ordinates land resource conservation and utilization, providing information to the public and encouraging citizen participation programmes."[26] The overall objective of the program is "to integrate land resource management, conservation and reclamation, in order to balance resource development with the maintenance of environmental quality."[27] The Environment Department, through such agencies as the "Conservation and Utilization Committee: and the "Land Conservation and Reclamation Council" seems more involved in creating and guiding social change by involving citizens in the planning of their own futures. They welcome democratic input as a basis of decision-making and have dual goals of protecting the environment at present and creating awareness in citizens who will become the responsible conservers of the future.

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[26] Ibid., p. 132

[27] Ibid.

The Environment Conservation Authority, under the same department, has similar objectives:

> To review and co-ordinate Government and Government Agency policies, programmes, and administrative procedures as they pertain to environment conservation and to encourage public participation in the discussion and analysis of environmental issues.[28]

It would appear that the Department of Environment is highly involved in public participation, education, decentralization, social change and operates from a democratic stance that qualifies as community development.

Executive Council. Under this department comes "Support to Native Organizations," primarily a funding mechanism which also serves as a liaison between the Government of Alberta and the native people. Presently funded under this program are such organizations as: Native Friendship Centres, Indian Association of Alberta, Native Area Development Committee, and the Voice of Alberta Native Women's Society.

The program is categorized as community development because the approach is democratic and educational and is based on "felt needs," group participation and self-help. This is an integrated approach for meeting the special problems of this Albertan minority.

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

The Women's Bureau. This program, under the Executive Council, is also integrated and total in its approach to women. It deals with all matters and concerns of women, is educational and is designed to spur changes in social attitudes towards women. It is structured to respond to women's organizations, and attempts to involve women in matters of concern to them. Through certain services it:

> Provides information about women, women's organizations, women's rights and cultural activities; acts as a government liaison with women's representatives, increases public awareness of the role of women in today's society.[29]

Department of Municipal Affairs. Through the program "Support to Community Planning Services," this department co-ordinates community planning. The overall objective of the programs is "to regulate and direct community growth to ensure planned and organized community development."[30]

The Provincial Planning Board approves budgets of seven Regional Planning Commissions and approves direct payments to municipalities for planning projects. Those areas of the province not served by these seven Commissions are serviced by the Provincial Planning Branch.

Basically, this community development program constitutes a government attempt at decentralization by stimulating local citizen involvement. These Commissions are designed to maximize feedback from local communities through members elected from each municipality, county or rural council in the area served.

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[29] Ibid., p. 150.

[30] Ibid., p. 240.

The Commissions also serve as co-ordinating agencies with membership from many government departments - Labour, Transportation, Agriculture, Environment, Energy and Natural Resources and others.[31]

Thus, the overall design and operation of the Provincial Planning Branch satisfies the seven criteria of community development. It is a process of social change involving citizen input and participation and government decentralization. With both task goals and process goals, this integrated or holistic approach to development is designed to prevent centralized decision-making from smothering local aspirations.

Also under the jurisdiction of the Department of Municipal Affairs is the Northeast Alberta Regional Commission, a co-ordinating instrument for the development of northeast Alberta. This special Commission has the objective "to ensure a planned and organized community development in the rapid growth area of northeast Alberta."[32] A Citizen Advisory Board is annexed to the Commission, composed of people from various towns or rural areas of northeast Alberta, including small centres like Janvier.[33] Because of the massive industrial development of the tar sands area, the Commission serves as a filter and co-ordinator, stimulating "grass roots" participation in development. By so doing they foster educational benefits to counter the shock of rapid development and enable local people to gain some control over a frustrating environment. The mode of operation of this Commission, and the other regional commissions, appears to be consistent with the selected seven criteria of community development.

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[31] R. N. Giffen, Executive Director, Edmonton Regional Planning Commission, private correspondence.

[32] Alberta, "Programme Estimates," p. 246.

[33] R. Henning, Commissioner of the Northeast Alberta Region, information supplied by his office staff, March, 1977.

Department of Social Services and Community Health. Under the program "Preventive and Specialized Social Services," the government finances a series of endeavours which clearly reflect community development principles and which embody Dunham's criteria of community development employed in this study. The overall objective of the program:

> To enhance the quality of community life by cost sharing Preventive Social Services programmes with municipalities, creating vocational opportunities for employable persons, and improvement of quality of life in Metis communities.[34]

The concept of preventive social services is designed to develop community resources and to strengthen human initiative and in so doing to reduce the incidence of social or economic breakdown. "It is any activity which should be available to ALL members of a community, on a voluntary basis, for the enrichment of their physical, mental and social well-being."[35]

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[34] Alberta, "Programme Estimates," p. 270.

[35] Alberta, Social Services and Community Health, "People Need People," pamphlet by Preventive Social Service Branch.

The belief underlying the program is that preventive services must be planned at the community level. "The emphasis on the local community's responsibility rests on the belief that most communities, like individuals, have the desire, energy and resources for self-improvement."[36]

Although the provincial government reimburses municipalities for up to 80 percent of the deficit costs of approved projects, the municipality is responsible for developing the program, selecting a director and appointing an advisory board, committee or commission. This type of structure ensures involvement of volunteer workers and attracts local resources and funds.

Projects presently approved include Day Care, Senior Citizens Services, Community Services, Family Services, Home Care Services, Youth Services and Innovative and Development Services. The government provides consultation and liaison with public and private agencies interested in Preventive Social Services, "vocational and family counselling to enable employable adults the opportunity of job experience,"[37] and it finances community development projects for Metis.

These innovative and educative approaches to social change, which grow out of the felt needs of citizens, are developed, organized and administered at the local level. These programs are available to all citizens and readily qualify as primary community development.

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Alberta, "Programme Estimates," p. 270.

## Secondary Community Development
## Program Analysis

The seven criteria of community development are applied to the secondary community development programs in the same manner as they were matched to the primary community development programs. The basic difference between the categories is that some element of doubt surrounds each item in the secondary list. That is, some question arises as to whether or not one or more of the criteria are adequately reflected in the selected programs. However, the decision to include these programs rests on the perception that the program is basically designed to have an overall community development orientation. Therefore, to exclude them would be tantamount to passing judgment on inconclusive evidence.

From the government documents ten programs are identified and listed in Table 2. The aggregate sum of projected secondary community development expenditures is $44,765,928 out of total projected budget expenditures of $2,961,449,507.[38]

Each program is analyzed to determine how it meets Dunham's[39] seven criteria. In cases where a program obviously satisfied particular criteria, little mention will be made of these self-evident aspects in an effort to avoid redundancy. In this secondary community development category, those areas which seem doubtful or inconclusive when the criteria are applied will be emphasized in order to distinguish between

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[38] Ibid., p. 7.

[39] Dunham, pp.172-173.

## TABLE 2

## GOVERNMENT FINANCED SECONDARY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

| Government Department | Program | Sub-Program | Elements | Estimate of Expenditures 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | $ |
| Advanced Education and Manpower | 1. Financial Assistance to Students | Program Support | | 920,600 |
| | | Direct Assistance | Grants, Bursaries, Fellowships, Remissions | |
| | | | Vocational and Rehabilitation training | 14,788,000 |
| | | Indirect Assistance | Interest Payments | 1,861,000 |
| | | | Guarantees | |
| | 2. Manpower Development | * | Employment Development | 2,323,218 |
| | | | Apprenticeship | 2,754,068 |
| | | | Career Development | 3,614,566 |
| Consumer and Corporate Affairs | 3. Consumer Education and Protection | * | Service Element | 421,395 |
| | | | Consumer Education and Information | 348,655 |
| | | | Family Finance Counselling | 205,059 |

Table 2 - Continued

| Government Department | Program | Sub-Program | Elements | Estimate of Expenditures 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Culture | 4. Cultural Development | Cultural Heritage | Administration | 144,595 |
| | | | Financial Assistance | 261,000 |
| | | | Exposure | 140,475 |
| | | | Alberta Cultural Heritage Council | 52,030 |
| Executive Council | 5. Alberta Educational Communications Corporation (ACCESS) | Program Support | * | 1,343,000 |
| | | Development and Production | | 5,766,000 |
| | | Media Utilization | | 491,000 |
| | | | Support from Dept. of Education | 93,100 |
| Labour | 6. Individual's Rights Protection | * | Human Rights Commission | 623,299 |
| Recreation Parks and Wildlife | 7. Recreation Development | Sports and Fitness Development | Financial Assistance | 611,900 |
| | | | Workshops & Clinics | 170,140 |
| | | | Consultations | 236,430 |
| | | | Sub-Program Support | 71,950 |
| | | Outdoor Recreation Development | Financial Assistance | 567,240 |
| | | | Workshops & Clinics | 35,000 |
| | | | Consultations | 128,280 |
| | | | Blue Lake Centre | 305,110 |
| | | | Sub-Program Support | 63,380 |

Table 2 - Continued

| Government Department | Program | Sub-Program | Elements | Estimate of Expenditures 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social Services and Community Health | 8. Services for the Handicapped | Community Development and Referral | Community Service Workers | 866,680 |
| | | Agency Grants and Purchased Services | Community Residences Training Programs | 4,831,570 |
| | 9. Preventive and Community Health Services | Specialized Health Services | Family Planning Consultation | 104,470 |
| | | | Nutrition Services | 63,950 |
| | | Agency Grants | Community Organization Grants | 152,650 |
| | 10. Alcoholism and Drug Abuse | Education and Information Services | Community Education Edmonton | 186,118 |
| | | | Community Education Calgary | 220,000 |
| | | | SECONDARY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM TOTAL | $44,765,928 |

Source: Adapted from Alberta, Treasury Department, Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77: Supplementary Information, Element Details, Tabled, March 19, 1976.

*No sub-program or element breakdown.

primary and secondary programs. For the most part, however, these items selected embody social change, self-help and community participation, technical assistance, task goals and process goals, an educational process, the "felt needs" and desires of the people and they rest on a democratic philosophy.[40]

Advanced Education and Manpower. Both Financial Assistance to Students and Manpower Development are listed as secondary community development programs. The objective of the Financial Assistance to Students Program is "to provide financial support to enable Alberta students to participate in higher and further education programmes and career development and training opportunities."[41] This support is provided through bursaries, grants, vocational and rehabilitation training as well as through loan guarantees, interest payments and remissions.

Manpower Development has the stated objective: "To ensure that every Albertan, according to individual capabilities, has the opportunity to take part in productive employment...!"[42] Career counselling and advisory services to individuals, industry and organizations are supplied through the Career Development and Employment Development units and divisional field offices. Some support is advanced for on-the-job training and for special manpower programs such as Summer Temporary Employment Programme (STEP).

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Alberta, "Programme Estimates," p. 16.

[42] Ibid., p. 18.

It should be noted that the single largest departmental projected expenditure for secondary community development goes into these two programs within Advanced Education and Manpower. Well over half of the expenditures in Table 2 are earmarked for this department, a total of $26,261,452 out of the aggregate sum of $44,765,928. Some evidence would indicate that such expenditures are justified and that external benefits accrue to all, including those who do not directly benefit. Otto Eckstein points out that:

> Everybody gains from living in a democracy with an educated citizenry. Also, some of the economic benefit of having an educated labor force accrues to employers through lower production costs, and to consumers through lower prices, though it is impossible to determine precise amounts.[43]

This type of expenditure obviously satisfies most of the selected criteria. It involves an educational process designed to bring about social change through self-help and participation with the aid of government technical assistance. An educated electorate is part of the democratic philosophy which advocates individual freedom to participate in decision-making. Awareness is a precondition of successful participation.

However, while the program generally enhances the individual's capacity for self-direction, one would hesitate to say that it would guarantee qualities of group co-operation. An additional uncertainty turns on the question of the "felt needs" and aspirations of the people. Does the counselling, advice and referral service percolate from the perceived needs of the people served or does it merely reflect an attempt by government to balance current market and manpower requirements? Are the financed vocational and higher educational programs designed to satisfy the needs and interests of those served? In the latter case, it may be difficult to identify the needs and interests of the public. To a certain extent, what people desire is very often a reflection of what society has taught them to value and what governments have endorsed.

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[43] Otto Eckstein, Public Finance (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.:Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 10-11.

In addition, it could be argued that a better trained and educated electorate are more likely to have acquired personal qualities which allow them to function co-operatively in an increasingly complex environment. Certain skills in human relations may be acquired through increased exposure to education or retraining.

While these programs are not directed to achieving task or concrete goals, they do lay the groundwork for future concrete achievements. Moreover, they are included in Table 2 because they attempt to involve a wider representation of workers and students in an educational or change process. The assumption is that many students and workers economically incapable of financing their own further educational pursuits will be afforded the opportunity through government funding. Thus, the programs can be said to be creating an awareness which constitutes a precondition for successful community development activities.

Consumer and Corporate Affairs. Three elements of the Consumer Education and Protection Program are identified as secondary community development. The objective of the program is:

> To promote the development of informed consumers, aware of their rights and responsibilities and capable of reasoned decisions and action in a marketplace assured of fair standards of commercial endeavour.[44]

Through six regional offices the department provides "consumer education in co-operation with the school system, post-secondary educational institutions and community groups; and through dissemination of information."[45] Additional services involve development of standards of business practice, investigation of consumer complaints and the provision of counselling services to clients in financial difficulty.

Basically, the emphasis in this program in on education and self-help. It has both task goals, solving specific consumer problems directed to the departments, and process goals, strengthening the consumer's abilities to be self-directive in a complex marketplace. It would appear self-evident that this program is based on the 'felt needs' and desires of the people, at least if one accepts the psychological premise that informed consumers act in their own interest. Saving money and time through wise consumer decisions should be considered in the best interests of the people of the community.

However, when the seven criteria are applied to this program, some weak areas emerge. Although the program is designed to bring about an educational change in citizens, it is not directed at broad-based societal change. The prime emphasis is on sharpening individual consciousness, not on altering those aspects of our society which necessitate warning citizens about the hazards of the marketplace. Nevertheless, some attempts are made to develop standards of business practice, however limited these attempts may be. The latter action guides the department toward far-reaching social change which rests on more wide-ranging human values.

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[44] Alberta, "Programme Estimates," p. 70.

[45] Ibid.

The whole area of citizen participation appears neglected in this program. The department does attempt to reach citizens by disseminating information but citizen participation and democratic involvement are not seen as ends in themselves. No service is aimed at decentralizing authority and encouraging community groups to attack consumer issues relevant to their specific needs. Basically, Consumer and Corporate Affairs decides what issues are relevant to consumers and decisions are filtered down from a centralized administration. However, government authorities might counter this argument with the fact that they do investigate consumer complaints ("grass-roots" issues) and co-operate with existing community-based and volunteer organizations such as the Consumers' Association of Canada. Since some doubt exists as to how well these programs do promote social change and citizen participation, they have been categorized as secondary community development.

Department of Culture. The sub-program Cultural Heritage falls under the program category of Cultural Development. The objective of the Cultural Development Program is: "To promote, encourage and co-ordinate the orderly cultural development of Alberta."[46] The specific services that Cultural Heritage furnishes and which are considered secondary community development are:

> Provides consultative services to community groups planning local or regional festivals; assists in the promotion and development of cultural exchanges, both nationally and internationally; provides administrative support services to the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council; publishes Heritage Magazine; administers a grant programme; maintains and develops ancestral languages in a Canadian context; and, generally assists and promotes Alberta groups wishing to preserve and maintain their ethno-cultural heritage.[47]

These services generally satisfy the seven characteristics of community development. The educational process includes not only concrete projects, such as planning regional festivals and cultural exchanges, but it is designed to solicit feedback from community groups and stimulate participation and co-operation at an inter-cultural level. Thus, citizen participation is encouraged and appears to be valued as an end in itself by the Cultural Development Program. Basically democratic, the Cultural Heritage Branch attempts to reflect the needs, desires and aspirations of the people of Alberta through the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council, an advisory body "selected or elected from each cultural community."[48]

The main reason these programs are relegated to a secondary community development status is their involvement with social change. The emphasis in Cultural Heritage is on improving existing cultural arrangements and refurbishing historical ties. Community development is always concerned with bringing about basic social change. Some skepticism emerges about the possibility of affecting social change through a revitalization of one's cultural heritage. Can an appreciation of one's 'roots' promote social change and, if it does promote social change, can this change be called development? One possibility of such an exercise is that increased pride in one's ethno-cultural heritage may not so readily stimulate the inter-group understanding and co-operation envisioned and desired but rather foster more revolutionary ideas embodied in a separatist credo. Some revolutionary movements can be considered community development, particularly those which liberate the majority of the people and which were inspired by the strong concensus of an oppressed citizenry. But those movements which tend to create cleavages within a community and between the ethnic groups of the community cannot be described as community development. Whether the activities of the Cultural Heritage Branch will promote this cleavage or whether it will foster broad social change through increased inter-group understanding is a moot point. Certainly the Branch deals with a very narrow aspect of community life.

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[46] Ibid., p. 80.

[47] Ibid., p. 82.

[48] Dick Wong, Cultural Heritage Branch, Alberta Department of Culture, private correspondence.

Nevertheless, the Cultural Heritage Branch is included in Table 2 because it utilizes practices and processes which are basically community development strategies.

Executive Council. The Alberta Education Communications Corporation (ACCESS) has the stated objective: "To assist in the development of cultural and educational services to Albertans."[49] Services per-formed by ACCESS include: development and production of multi-media materials, audio and video dubbing services, information services, lectures, demonstrations, workshops, loans of media-based educational resources and the acquisition of educational media materials from alternate sources including other provinces and countries.

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[49] Alberta, "Programme Estimates," p. 152.

ACCESS is isolated as a secondary community development program over other general educational services financed through the Department of Education. The latter are more involved with socialization than with social change and constitute a basic service more or less uniform to all Albertans and requiring little input. On the other hand, ACCESS, financed through the Executive Council, is more entangled in social change and in the co-ordination of communications. Although they have some liaison with school boards, ACCESS functions in a broader social milieu.

To a certain extent, ACCESS co-ordinates interdepartmental projects, one example being its co-operation with the Department of Agriculture for the production of the TV series FACT. The Corporation is concerned with the needs and aspirations of the people and its research and evaluation department uses audience surveys and audience reaction studies to evaluate materials.[50] The assumption is that ACCESS attempts to reflect the desires of each target audience--which covers all age levels. As well, efforts are aimed at involving members of the community in ACCESS. Private citizens, associations, educators and filmmakers are invited to submit proposals for program ideas which are evaluated on a quarterly basis. However, ultimate approval for these projects rests with the Alberta Educational Communications Authority,[51] leaving some question about how broad a cross-section of the populace would be motivated to submit proposals and which of the latter would most likely capture the advocacy of the Authority. Herein lies one weakness when the criteria for community development are applied to ACCESS. Screening by the top level administration is a process not generally tied to such democratic objectives as government decentralization, individual freedom and widespread citizen participation. However, as a self-help vehicle, ACCESS is probably more responsive to citizens than any similar educational institution.

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[50] Alberta, Alberta Educational Communications Corporation, "Access Alberta, Third Annual Report" (October 16, 1976), p. 14.

As a method of social change and as an educational process, ACCESS can supply information not carried by the mass media. Moreover, groups can turn to this technical arm of the government when the need arises. Independent writers and film-makers are often acquired for production purposes. ACCESS could be described as an information network reflecting the interests of the public and generally satisfying the criteria for secondary community development.

Labour. The Individual's Rights Protection Act gave the authority for the establishment of the Human Rights Commission. The object of the program is "to reduce discriminatory activity in the areas of public accommodation and services, housing accommodation and services, employment, and trade union membership."[52] The government supplies the technical expertise, nine human rights officers and a support staff, and the statute gives clout to the decisions of the Commission. The program is educative, or re-educative in nature. Educational and informational services pertaining to individual rights are part of the overall function of the Commission. Employers, trade unions and other members of the public are supplied with a copy of the Act and with other information to use as a guide in everyday decision-making in the area of human rights.

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[51] Idem, "Access to Access" (Pamphlet), p. 5.

[52] Alberta, "Programme Estimates," p. 216.

The Commission has specific goals, to investigate present allegations of discrimination, and process goals, to strengthen the quality of co-operation among the Alberta populace. This type of emphasis is directed at broad-based social change, an effort to create a society which has respect for every individual. Moreover, democratic values rest squarely on individual freedom. In Canada, people tend to express their preference for a society based on justice and freedom for all. At this rhetorical level, consensus is easy to obtain. For this reason, it would be anticipated that the desires of the people of Alberta are consistent with the overall goals of the Human Rights Commission, although in actual practice citizens may fall short of realizing these goals. In general, the underlying values of the Individual's Rights Protection Program mirror the values of community development.

The main doubt which relegates this program to secondary community development is the problem of wide citizen participation. For the most part, the program acts on individual allegations of discrimination by members of minority groups. Generally, charges must be written submissions from complainants although some investigations can be initiated by the officers. In either case, few people are actually participating in the activities. Although more people are reached by the information and education services, some doubt still remains about actual numbers of people who are changed or otherwise influenced by this program designed in the government hierarchy. However, the whole value system underscoring such a program merits its inclusion as a secondary community development activity.

Recreation, Parks and Wildlife. Recreation Development is listed in Table 2 as a secondary community development program. Sports and Fitness Development and Outdoor Recreation Development are both people-oriented rather than facility-oriented. The goal in sport and fitness development is:

> Assist in, and encourage, Alberta citizens to participate in sporting activities, and also to encourage an appreciation for physical fitness; and to assist those with the desire, the opportunity to develop their sport skills to the maximum potential.[53]

These objectives embody social change and are educational in focus. Government personnel, equipment and money are used to foster greater citizen participation in physical fitness programs. There are specific goals, such as organizing sporting events and supporting talented individuals, and process goals, strengthening self-direction and participation.

The Outdoor Recreation Development Program aims to:

> Encourage and support the orderly development of comprehensive outdoor recreation planning, management and programming at the municipal, regional and provincial levels, while increasing the

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[53] Ibid., p. 252.

> appreciation of the use of our natural environment by the citizens of Alberta.[54]

The emphasis in both sub-programs is similar. Although each involves the promotion of a predetermined program by government, some evidence suggests that government is acting from the felt needs and desires of the people. There has been an increase in recreational pursuits in recent years as well as an incremental use of parks and other outdoor recreation areas. It is difficult to ascertain whether publicized medical evidence linking fitness to health stimulates increasing physical activity or whether it springs from community consensus about the need for more physical activity based on the fact that decreasing working hours leave a larger amount of time available for such activities. Possibly elements of both have augmented the fitness and outdoor trends which are currently popular.

These programs are designated as secondary community development because they focus on a narrow aspect of democracy which is not directly connected to "ultimate control by the people, a substantial degree of freedom by individuals and groups, a considerable amount of governmental decentralization."[55] However, indirectly, the benefits of these programs are likely to enhance qualities of co-operation and foster community synergy and participation. Because these programs involve the people in planning and decision-making, they generally qualify as secondary community development.

Social Services and Community Health. The first of the three secondary community development programs under this department is titled Services for the Handicapped with an objective:

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Dunham, p. 173.

> To ensure the development and provision of care and rehabilitation services by the community or the government, which enable handicapped persons to develop according to their potential, and where possible, to function in the community.[56]

Alberta provides technical assistance to community groups to facilitate the integration of the handicapped into the community. This involves both an educational and a change process. Public attitudes are important in such a de-institutionalization process where public co-operation and support is necessary. In this program, government co-operates with the existing community agencies, indicating that a community level need existed prior to government interference. The immediate goals, helping the handicapped, are task goals and the process goals emanate from the community based co-operation necessary to provide the services needed.

The handicapped program also meets the democratic criterion. The service is tied to control by the people since the community is attempting to re-integrate and de-institutionalize their handicapped and in so doing they provide greater individual freedom for those affected.

This particular program is secondary because it does not seem to involve widespread citizen participation. Such a program could be successful without touching the lives of many outside of the handicapped themselves. Indirectly, as the program remains functional, increasing successes would eventually have a wider impact on the general community, thus stimulating more wide-spread social change. The program is included in Table 2 because it represents the self-help efforts of communities to deal with problems contained in the community--a "grass-roots" movement.

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[56] Alberta, "Programme Estimates," p. 272.

Also subsumed under Social Services and Community Health are the Preventive and Community Health Services. Family planning consultation, nutrition services and community organization grants are included in secondary community development because these aspects of community health have a wide-ranging impact on the community.

Because they provide "consultation, health information and education services,"[57] these programs are educative in nature and ultimately are aimed at social change in the community. Such preventive measures are slanted towards reaching large numbers of people in the community and rest on the philosophy of self-help and self-direction, at least in general health matters. The specific or immediate goals involve counselling or solving problems which come before Preventive and Community Health Services. Longer range goals lie in the creation of a health-minded community, ideally one with decreasing demands for treatment of illness. Accepting the premise that people act in their own self-interest, it could be assumed that the felt needs and consensus of any community would logically support such a program. The fact that community organization grants constitute one of the services provided indicates that some need for this type of program originates at the community level.

The extent to which these services are democratic, tied to ultimate control by the people or foster governmental decentralization is a debatable point. Moreover, these health services are not intended or structured for strengthening qualities of co-operation and participation among the people of a community. The support given in the form of community organization grants is for existing community organizations concerned with similar aspects of health care.

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[57] Ibid., p. 276.

What does make them qualify as secondary community development is the fact that these services are available to persons in particular communities in order to help them to develop within a broader societal context, i.e. not against the interests of other groups in Alberta.

The final listing in Table 2 is the Education and Information Services provided through the Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Program. This sub-program provides:

> Preventive education and information services aimed at altering public attitudes towards the use and abuse of alcohol and drugs. Provides education and information support service to social service and health professions.[58]

Designed to bring about social change in the community, this sub-program is educational in intent. It has the specific goal of altering public attitudes but does not have process goals which are likely to promote greater citizen participation and co-operation. Since the program has responded to community level requests, it can be assumed that some felt need or desire for such a service is generated at the community level.

Basically, the seventh criterion of democracy is by-passed in this sub-program. The services are not meant to deal with substantial individual freedom or ultimate "grass roots" control. They are designated as secondary community development because they attempt to create the necessary precondition for a successful democracy--an informed, educated, aware and healthy citizenry capable of both self-direction and co-operation in a community action setting.

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[58] Ibid., p. 278.

## Conclusion

The twenty three programs listed in Tables 1 and 2 have many common elements. They are selected because they generally involve: social change, self-help and citizen participation, technical assistance, task goals and process goals, an educational process, the "felt needs" and aspirations of the people, and they rest on a democratic philosophy.

For the most part, these elements are more clearly reflected in the primary programs. However, in the case of criterion number 3, technical assistance in the form of personnel, equipment, money, supplies or consultation, the mere fact that the programs are listed in the budget indicates that they meet this criterion. That is, all of the programs have the technical assistance of the Alberta government.

There are additional similarities between the primary and secondary programs. Nearly all of the listed programs are educative in nature and seem to be concerned with bringing about social change in the community. As well, most of the items are based on broad, democratic values, although the implementation of the programs may lack the customary democratic procedures.

The main differences between the primary and secondary community development programs seem to cluster around the concepts of citizen participation and co-operation. As a group, the secondary programs are less involved with the process goal-stimulating qualities of participation in citizens. Community development literature emphasizes that community initiative, effort and co-operation are ends in themselves. The theory rests on the assumption that people should be involved in the planning of their own futures. The ideal is for citizens to assume some control over the complex social, cultural, political and economic forces which are producing social change. These skills provide a method of living and working together which can be applied to a multiplicity of situations. The secondary programs tend to emphasize these skills less than the primary community development programs.

Another general difference between primary and secondary programs is the scope or dimension. Most of the primary programs have a multiple emphasis--educational, social, economic and cultural. The secondary programs generally are more specific in focus. They deal with only one area of community life, such as health from a nutritional perspective. Although the seven criteria do not specify that such a multiple emphasis is necessary, some of the literature does include the holistic or total approach as a characteristic of community development. In the primary programs, most of the emphasis is on all aspects of community life--co-ordination of health, adult education, agriculture, social services and business. Here again, the implication is that skills acquired by citizen participation are transferable to all situations affecting community life.

Generally, the emphasis in all the programs is not what is accomplished but how it is accomplished. The building of a road may or may not be community development. The answer can only be ascertained when the manner in which the road was built is determined. Did the community organize and as a group define their transportation problems? Did they participate in the planning of the road? Did they solicit the means for solving their transportation problems and building their new road? Were the majority of the people in the community in favour of the new road? If the answers to these questions are affirmative, we may readily describe the new road as a community development project. The venture had both task and process goals.

It is evident that certain socially oriented programs, funded by the government, are excluded from Tables 1 and 2. Short-term or 'crash' programs are not considered eligible because most social change diffuses over a substantial period of time. For example, the twenty-eight day drug or alcohol treatment or recovery is excluded. Such a program would have a limited social or educational impact, at least limited when compared to long-term educational and informational services disseminated among a larger percentage of citizens.

Two intentional, very general omissions should be mentioned. The first is listed under the Department of Municipal Affairs. The department has voted a total of $50,109,089 as unconditional assistance grants to municipalities. It is up to the specific cities, towns or villages to determine how this money will be spent. Theoretically, the whole concept of government decentralization and locally-based decision-making is tied to community development. Therefore, unconditional grants would be more desirable than conditional grants from a community development point of view. They expand the opportunity for local aspirations to be reflected in municipal expenditures. Under conditional grants, municipalities are forced to abide by the dictates of the province. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to determine what percentage of the unconditional grants are earmarked for community development projects. To do so would require an examination of the budgets of well over 300 municipalities in Alberta. For this reason, the whole category of unconditional assistance grants to municipalities is excluded from the community development tables. It is not known how much, if any, of these funds are directed to community development as it is defined in this chapter.

The second omission from the community development tables is the Regional Counselling and Delivery of Programs under the Department of Social Services and Community Health. For example, social service regional offices consume a healthy $15,767,060 from provincial coffers. It is these regional offices that administer the counselling and program delivery. A more specific breakdown of actual expenditures for each service is not provided by the government. However, under services provided, they list:

> Delivery of the Social Allowance and Child Welfare Programme including assessment, job counselling and referral, issuing social aid, apprehension, counselling, placement and adoption of children, and counselling delinquent children and their families.[59]

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[59] Ibid., p. 266.

These services are more generally defined as direct social welfare. Thus, when the seven criteria are applied, they do not meet the necessary requirements to be termed community development. Nonetheless, these social service regional offices are mentioned here because they partially fund West 10, an Edmonton community development project. However, no estimate of the amount of this funding is listed, and consequently, West 10 has not been included in the tables. There is an additional possibility that these offices, involved in a broad range of duties, might support other small-scale community development projects. Nevertheless, the position taken in this thesis is that the bulk of social service regional offices' expenditures could not be categorized as community development and they are excluded from Tables 1 and 2.

In summary, estimated expenditures for both primary and secondary community development programs amount to $93,043,416. This figure represents just over 3 percent of the total provincial estimates of expendiutres for 1976-77. Table 3 provides an overview of how the remaining percentage (over 96 percent) is distributed among the various departments. Hospitals and medical care top the list as the single largest public expenditure.

To a certain extent, part of the enormous wealth of Alberta is masked by the figures charted in Table 3. The almost $3 billion budgeted excludes the provincial share of the federal oil export tax as well as incremental crude oil royalties. The latter are intended for transfer to the Heritage Savings Trust Fund which on March 31, 1977

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## TABLE 3
## SUMMARY OF BUDGETARY EXPENDITURE BY DEPARTMENTS

| Department/Agency | 1976-77 Estimates | | | 1975-76 Expenditure | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Operating Expenditure | Capital Expenditure | Total Expenditure | Forecast | Estimates |
| | | | (millions of dollars) | | |
| Advanced Education and Manpower | 280.0 | 29.9 | 309.9 | 299.8 | 280.5 |
| Agriculture | 61.6 | 0.9 | 62.5 | 85.4 | 48.6 |
| Attorney General | 35.7 | 1.6 | 37.3 | 28.1 | 26.9 |
| Business Development and Tourism | 9.7 | * | 9.7 | 8.4 | 9.8 |
| Research Council | 6.7 | 0.4 | 7.1 | 6.4 | 5.9 |
| Consumer and Corporate Affairs | 7.5 | * | 7.5 | 5.9 | 5.2 |
| Culture | 11.5 | 0.2 | 11.7 | 13.7 | 12.0 |
| Education | 513.4 | 0.2 | 513.6 | 462.3 | 453.9 |
| Energy and Natural Resources | 49.2 | 4.9 | 54.1 | 48.0 | 40.1 |
| Environment | 22.6 | 27.7 | 50.3 | 64.8 | 52.5 |
| Environment Conservation Authority | 0.9 | — | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| Executive Council | | | | | — |
| Administration | 1.3 | * | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.2 |
| Alberta Education Communications Corporation | 6.5 | 1.1 | 7.6 | 8.0 | 8.0 |
| Alberta Disaster Services | 1.1 | * | 1.1 | 2.7 | 1.0 |
| Energy Resources Conservation Board | 5.4 | — | 5.4 | 4.9 | 4.7 |
| Native Secretariat | 1.9 | * | 1.9 | 1.5 | 1.3 |
| Women's Bureau | * | — | * | * | * |
| Ministers Without Portfolio | 0.2 | * | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Human Resources Research | — | — | — | * | * |
| Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs | 1.5 | * | 1.5 | 1.7 | 1.1 |
| Government Services | 72.0 | 3.0 | 75.0 | 69.0 | 61.1 |
| Hospitals and Medical Care | 550.7 | — | 550.7 | 496.3 | 474.5 |
| Housing and Public Works | 53.8 | 77.8 | 131.6 | 110.8 | 104.1 |
| Alberta Housing Corporation | 16.6 | — | 16.6 | 10.2 | 9.9 |
| Alberta Home Mortgage Corporation | 4.0 | — | 4.0 | 2.7 | 0.5 |
| Labour | 20.5 | 0.3 | 20.8 | 16.5 | 15.6 |
| Legislation | 3.5 | * | 3.5 | 3.7 | 3.6 |
| Provincial Auditor's Office | 3.4 | * | 3.4 | 2.9 | 2.6 |
| Municipal Affairs | 82.6 | 0.1 | 82.7 | 70.8 | 69.2 |
| Recreation, Parks and Wildlife | 27.7 | 23.5 | 51.2 | 46.5 | 48.0 |
| Social Services and Community Health | 344.0 | 0.9 | 344.9 | 301.6 | 294.6 |
| Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission | 6.7 | 0.1 | 6.8 | 6.2 | 5.7 |
| Solicitor General | 70.9 | 0.6 | 71.5 | 60.6 | 56.4 |
| Transportation | 62.0 | 193.9 | 255.9 | 292.1 | 237.0 |
| Treasury | 75.9 | * | 75.9 | 75.5 | 69.8 |
| Pensions | 44.7 | * | 44.7 | 34.7 | 37.2 |
| Personnel Administration Office | 3.1 | * | 3.1 | 2.8 | 2.4 |
| Utilities and Telephones | 72.6 | 34.2 | 106.8 | 103.8 | 89.4 |
| 1976-77 Salary Contingency | 28.9 | — | 28.9 | — | — |
| Total Budgetary Expenditure[a] | 2,560.0 | 401.4 | 2,961.4 | 2,750.5 | 2,535.4 |

* Less than $100,000.

[a] May not add due to rounding.

Source: Alberta, Provincial Treasury, Budget Address, 1976 had $2.2 billion.[60] The lion's share of this fund (65 percent) is to be used for investment inside Alberta which must yield a reasonable rate of return and strengthen or diversify the economy. Another 15 percent of this Heritage Trust Fund is slated for revenue-producing investments in federal or provincial government projects. Final decisions about the disposition of the fund lie in the hands of the Cabinet. It is anticipated that in nine years this fund will have mushroomed to more than $10 billion, a figure which dwarfs the present annual budget. How will the Cabinet dispose of such a large "slush fund"? Based on current choices for allocating the fund, one might prophesy that little will be directed toward bona fide community development projects. The main impetus for creating the fund appears to be the desire to create a diversified economy less dependent on the non-renewable oil and gas reserves.

In conclusion, the aim of this chapter has been to isolate and categorize government-sponsored community development programs. This was deemed necessary because the programs are scattered throughout various departments and are identified by a wide variety of names. By isolating these programs, it was possible to give a quantitative measurement to government support for community development. The categories were based on articulated government objectives. No attempt was made to determine if the programs were community development programs in actual practice as well as in theory.

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[60] Alberta Treasury, Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund, First Annual Report 1976-77, August 30, 1977, p. 2.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE INTERVIEW/QUESTIONNAIRE

To obtain supplementary information about Alberta financed community development programs, an interview/questionnaire was designed. The interview schedule is contained in Appendix A. The questions are intended to provide information on the actual implementation of the programs in Alberta. The purpose of the questions is to ascertain whether methods used in each department are consistent with stated objectives. Are the methods used for achieving objectives successful? Does the department concern itself with those functions which are considered vital for community development? Is the program evaluated? Are there common problems in community development departments?

The twenty three programs isolated in Tables 1 and 2 are administered through twelve government departments. It was not possible to obtain interviews with all community development directors because some were unavailable due to extended, indefinite sick leave or extended holidays. Interviews were arranged with half of these departments, six community development programs administered by:

Agriculture - Executive-Director of Rural Development Assistance

Business Development and Tourism - Executive-Director of Northern Development

Culture - Acting Director of the Cultural Heritage Branch

Environment - Director of the Interdepartmental Relations Division in Land Conservation

Municipal Affairs - Commissioner of Northern Alberta

Social Services and Community Health - Director of Preventive
Social Services

Each of these community development program directors was asked the twenty open-ended questions in the interview/questionnaire survey. Responses were recorded verbatim. The interview/questionnaire was divided into five subsections--objectives, methods, clientele, citizen participation and involvement and evaluation and problems. Certain limitations surround the present exercise. In the first place, it is assumed that answers are comparable on the basis that respondents answered the questions honestly and that they understood the nature of the questions. Secondly, no attempt is made to estimate the probability of similar responses occurring if all community development directors had been interviewed.

## Interview/Questionnaire Responses

Objectives. In questions 1 to 3, all of the respondents interviewed said that there are stated objectives for their programs. The legal act, establishing authority for the program, often spells out the objectives. These tend to be augmented with internal guidelines and policy statements. With the exception of one case of "expansion", objectives had not changed since their inception.

Question 4 was designed to solicit the respondents' opinions on general governmental aims as compared to their own program aims. Most very quickly responded that their program aims were compatible with

TABLE 4

RESPONDENTS' VIEWS ON PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

Responses and Number of Times Cited

| Question 4 | Yes | Very Much So | Some Are Not |
|---|---|---|---|
| Are they (objectives) compatible with other aims of the government? | 3 | 2 | 1 |

| Question 5 | Social Change | Citizen Participation | Community Development | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| How would you classify the main objectives of your program | 5 | 3 | 1 | |
| | Educational | Human Resource Development | Resource Development | Management |
| | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

the other aims of government with two answering "very much so." Thus, five indicate that they perceive of their programs as an integral part of the overall aims of the Progressive Conservative government. The one respondent who answered, "some are not," qualified his answer by saying: "Our approach is a decentralized one. Some other aspects of government are much more centralizing."

Question 5 solicited multiple responses from all interviewed. Typical objectives were "social change" and "education." In addition, "citizen partipation," "human resource development" and "resource development" were considered prime objectives. Two different answers were "management" and "community development." Interestingly, the person who described the main objective of his program as "primarily community development" was the same person who qualified his answer about the compatibility of his program with other aims of government. That is, he perceived community development as decentralizing, something not all branches of government are interested in. "Have the community recognize and resolve their own problems" was his main goal.

Methods. This section was designed to find out actual departmental staff roles and specific procedures used to accomplish the aims of the program.

TABLE 5

METHODS USED TO ACCOMPLISH OBJECTIVES

Question 6: What methods do you use to accomplish your objectives?

| Responses | Number |
|---|---|
| Direct contact with local organizations | 4 |
| Provide consultants to communities | 2 |
| Public meetings in communities | 2 |
| Interdepartmental co-ordination meetings | 2 |
| Personal or direct contact with community members | 2 |
| Exposure programs | 2 |
| Grants to qualifying groups or individuals | 2 |
| Basic research and evaluation | 2 |
| Information bank | 2 |
| Government/non-government committee liaison | 1 |
| Workshops | 1 |
| Cultural exchanges | 1 |
| Regional economic development representatives | 1 |

The most common reply to question 6 was: "Direct contact with local organizations," which was cited as a method four times. This response is consistent with community development practices and principles. Many writers stress that local organizations provide the vehicle for the optimum practice of community development.

> Modernizing governments do not try to work directly with the great mass of the people. Rather, they work with the local institutions and rely upon the leaders of these institutions to work with the people.[1]

As Table 5 indicates, other less-emphasized methods include public meetings, consultation, personal contact, grants, as well as some methods unique to a specific program, such as cultural exchanges.

Some program directors mentioned that changes had been made in techniques for various reasons. One found direct contact between people more effective than the printed word and altered methods accordingly. Another had system changes because federal/provincial shared cost agreements did not meet with the approval of the Progressive Conservative Government. When these agreements expired, new agreements were closer to the dictates of the province. This was in line with Premier Lougheed's critical remarks about the Federal Government's attempts to stimulate slow growth areas in Canada which "have been either unsuccessful or, at best, have resulted in marginal or sporadic improvement."[2] The speculation by the Premier was that there may have been "a cost in lost job opportunities as a result of holding back the potential of the growth areas of Canada."[3] Subsequent agreements did not divide the province into districts as this was viewed as a form of segregation.

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[1] Edgar Owens and Robert Shaw, Development Reconsidered (Toronto: D.C. Heath and Company, 1972 and 1974), p. 7.

[2] Peter Lougheed, "Notes for Remarks on Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangements," First Ministers' Conference, Nov. 15-17, 1971, quoted in 1972 Budget Address, p. 32.

[3] Ibid., p. 31.

The Environment (Interdepartmental Relations) Department reported that techniques were altered to overcome problems such as "citizen apathy." The changes involved "an increase in public participation and communication" and "graphics have increased to reach citizens."

Question 9 was designed to define staff roles. It would appear that any program needs a backbone of administrative and secretarial support for normal functionining--recording, filing and correspondence. Aside from this staff, consultants and public participation workers topped the list of positions. Both function as a contact or liaison with local organizations and local people. The remaining roles were mainly generalist/planning positions. However, some physical resource and scientific staff provided the specific information on which to base technical decisions. For example, geographers might be the

TABLE 6

STAFF ROLES

Question 9 - What are the roles of the staff?

| Positions Named | Number |
|---|---|
| Consultants | 12 |
| Secretarial | 11 |
| Public participation staff | 8 |
| Director (Administrator) | 6 |
| Resource co-ordinators: physical | 5 |
| social | 5 |
| Analysts | 4 |
| Generalists: planners, resource developers, socio-economic specialists | 3 |
| Research/program development | 3 |
| Inter-departmental Planning Committee | 3 |
| Administration Officer | 1 |

physical resource co-ordinators who design "environmental impact guidelines" for the Land Conservation Branch. The social co-ordinators implement environmental concepts, collect feedback, monitor public reaction and encourage issue identification in various communities.

On the whole, both the methods used and the roles defined seem to be logical approaches for accomplishing community development objectives.

Clientele. All directors echoed that their programs were responsive to citizen requests for services. In answer to the question about what segment of the population the program was designed to serve, two responded :"All of the people in the province." Other answers included: "All of the people of Northeast Alberta," "All people--with priority given to lower socio-economic groups," "All Northern Albertans with a focus on remote areas" and "Specifically rural manpower and the agricultural processing community."

Citizen Participation and Involvement. Perhaps the key concept in community development is citizen participation. Authors stress that citizens should be involved in the planning of their own futures for two reasons. First, when people have a part to play in decision-making their commitment to the decisions is likely to be greater. Second, the skills gained through a democratic process of participation are likely to be transferable to other situations or problems, creating a self-sufficient community.

Four questions on the interview were directed to this citizen involvement concept. In question 12, directors indicated that their pro-

## TABLE 7

## COMMUNICATION OF PROGRAM TO PEOPLE

Question 12: In what ways is your program communicated to potential clients? to the general public?

| Responses | Number |
|---|---|
| Low key advertising | 4 |
| General media advertising | 2 |
| Pamphlets, films, literature, TV | 2 |
| Liaison between consultants and interested groups | 1 |
| Infiltration of existing groups | 1 |
| Seminars and conferences | 1 |
| Through regional advisory committee | 1 |

grams were communicated to both clients and the general public in the same manner. The most common response was "low key advertising." This was qualified by comments such as: "We keep a low profile and try to be non-directive," "We do not want to usurp local authority," "We use very low key advertising because we don't want to raise expectations." Those who mentioned media advertising and pamphlets, films and TV were interested in spreading knowledge of their program to as wide a segment of the population as possible. The latter did not feel that the communication of their programs would be threatening to communities nor would it create unrealistic expectations.

Question 13, "To what extent do citizens or client groups participate in the program?", was interpreted in different ways. Two gave members: "Response is high, over 500 organizations have been contacted" and "Attendance at meetings is excellent. For example, at our May 25, 1977 meeting, over 100 people attended from a total community population of 600." Two other respondents answered that there had been "infiltration into many local groups" and "they had attended many local meetings." Three additional responses were: "Only through grant requests," "We have a high volunteer input" and "Some participate through a local Monitoring Council." Thus, participation is measured in different ways. Some use total numbers choosing to participate, others use the number of local groups they contact or infiltrate, still others measure volunteer commitment or dedication as a key ingredient in participation.

Question 14 provides a logical follow up: "Do citizens have any input into the decision-making process within the department or program?" Specifically, are the opinions, values, beliefs, and ideas of all of those citizens contacted reflected in the decisions made by the department? Contact is only one part of participation. To be effective, local groups must have some power or influence over government decisions. All directors echoed that citizens had input into their programs. However, all made some qualifying statement. For example, one stated that reasonable (i.e. "for the general good of the province") suggestions had a "very high impact" on government decision-making. Generally some filtering, evaluation or monitoring of public requests was perceived to be essential by all directors. The sentiment directors expressed was that local groups demanded a certain percentage of unreasonable or impossible services that had to be ignored. In this case, directors still acknowledged that it was at least important for citizens to understand why their input could not be implemented and that it was a function of their programs to offer these explanations.

## TABLE 8

## STAFF-POPULATION RELATIONSHIP

Question 15: What is the relationship between the staff of the program and the population served?

| Responses | Number |
|---|---|
| Consultative | 2 |
| Facilitative | 2 |
| Non-authoritarian | 2 |
| Activators | 1 |
| Close knit and emotional | 1 |
| Open | 1 |
| Administrative | 1 |
| Public Servants | 1 |

The staff-citizen relationship was commonly described as non-authoritarian, consultative, facilitative, open. The impression gained is that directors view their staff as public servants in the literal sense of serving or working for the public at large. One director said that his department recognized the need for citizen involvement in the early planning stages and did not "interpret citizen involvement as selling or persuading the public that what you do is correct."

This question about citizen and public servant relationships is related to question 6 and the methods used to accomplish objectives. The methods employed were specifically designed for increased communication between individuals, groups, communities and the provincial government. It is equally important to determine the nature of this communication. Is the government facilitator/consultant sent as an authority to plant new ideas in communities? Or is the government facilitator/consultant sent to assist communities so that they have a better opportunity to achieve those goals which they have identified locally? The important feature about community development methods is that ideas are initiated in the local setting. To determine these finer nuances in staff-population relationships would probably require direct observation of field workers rather than interviews with directors.

However, it is important to remember that final decision-making still remains in the hands of the director of the program. Although all indicated that citizens had input into their programs, it was the director who decided which citizen requests or ideas were "reasonable." This implies that value judgments are made. It is the director who decides what is "reasonable" and what is not. In so doing, the director, of necessity, usurps the power of the community. This whole issue remains a moot point in community development. If citizens set goals and priorities which are potentially self-destructive, does the community developer accede to their right to be self-governing? On the other hand, if the developer adopts a paternalistic, directive approach, is he setting himself up as an authority over the members of the community? Is he claiming to know what is "right" for other people? Optimally, the community developer (or government consultant) presents all sides of an issue and hopes that the community adopts a logical and rational stance. Unfortunately, this does not always resolve the dilemma. Many problems and issues have no logical, clear-cut solutions. In such cases, the community development stance would be to allow the community to exercise their democratic right to choose from among alternatives. This precludes the presence of an administrative filter such as a government director.

Evaluation and Problems. The final five questions deal with program evaluation, achievements and major problems. Question 16 exposed various interpretations of what evaluation should entail. Basically, three directors mentioned management appraisal as an evaluative instrument. The performance of each staff member over the year is measured according to his/her stated goals. Internal evaluation is a similar approach and constitutes an attempt by a department to assess its success and/or failure to meet goals over a given time period. Two expressed that evaluation of some of their program objectives posed problems. In one of these cases, the problem could only be solved with longitudinal studies spanning almost a normal life expectancy. Even with such a long study period, problems

TABLE 9

EVALUATION

Question 16: How is the program evaluated?

| Responses | Number |
|---|---|
| Management Appraisal System | 3 |
| Internal evaluation | 2 |
| Some unmeasuarable objectives | 2 |
| Evaluative committees | 1 |
| Adherence to regional plan | 1 |
| Volunteers per government dollar spent | 1 |
| Economic spin-off to community | 1 |

remain when attempting to evaluate such a program as Preventive Social Services. Can you define the variables? Can you control the variables? If you can define and control the variables, what about the intervening variables over a fifty-year time span?

For some, evaluation was a cut-and-dry procedure. Adhering to a regional plan, measuring economic spin-off in a community and counting the numbers of volunteers for every government dollar spent provide a simple approach to assessment. This type of appraisal ignores some of the basic program objectives.

Generally, responses indicate that evaluation is not a comprehensive procedure in those government departments interviewed.

Saslow[4] presents some strategies for evaluation which are applicable to government programs. The Stake (1967) Model[5] emphasizes that three bodies of information are essential for judgment and general information: antecedent, transaction and outcome data. Antecedents are those conditions which existed prior to the government program and which may be related to outcome: citizen interest, ability, experience, and community resources. Transactions include interactions such as consultants, facilitators, grants, citizens, movies, literature and committees. Outcomes include all consequences, immediate and long range, affecting the community and government.

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[4] Michael G. Saslow, A Strategy for Evaluation Design, (Monmouth, Oregon: Teaching Research, Oregon State System of Higher Education, April, 1970), p. 2.

[5] Stake, quoted by Saslow, p. 2.

From the evaluation responses, it would appear that the government assessment concentrated on the second step in evaluation, transactions. The antecedents were not overly stressed and, more important, outcomes were scarcely mentioned. Moreover, those outcomes which were mentioned, such as more jobs and economic spin-off, were but one consequence of transactions.

The majority of responses, 8 out of 11, indicate that the programs are judged by "external" standards, referring not to community changes or output criteria but to input criteria (number of staff employed, departmental budget, man/hours required, square feet of office space). All of the management appraisal, internal evaluation or evaluative committees utilize this "external measurement standard" which primarily measures input.

To provide an evaluation of those objectives which are vital in a community development program, outcomes or output are essential. Are there observable changes in a community? Do these changes affect: economics, attitudes, skills, participation or other community resources? The evaluator needs to observe all forms of outcomes--including unwanted side-effects.

Adherence to a regional plan may be a useful and worthwhile evaluation, but in a department which states that it invites citizens to become enmeshed in planning, the more initial evaluative criteria would be: "To what extent were regional citizens involved in the design of the overall plan?" To what degree does the plan meet with citizen approval?"

Four out of six directors expressed unqualified success at achieving stated program objectives (Question 17). One qualified response was: "To the limited degree that it is in effect, it is. Much more preventive emphasis in the province is necessary." In the latter case, the program director felt that a budget directed to 97 percent rehabilitation and only 3 percent prevention was a case of misplaced priorities among officials.

The second qualified response to the question, "Do you think the program is achieving its stated objectives?", raises an interesting point. The director answered that "you can always meet your objectives if you state them correctly." The inference was that management can always manipulate evaluative procedures to validate its own success. Evaluation can often be "practiced as a cover-up, designed to justify or validate a program to which those involved are heavily committed."[6] Unfortunately, many specialists become more concerned with continuing support for a program than with modifying or adapting the program in line with outputs. This fact may have influenced responses to Question 17.

Question 19 further elaborates problems with departmental evaluation procedures. When asked to list the major achievements of the program, two respondents answered: "Incorporation of citizens' views, demonstratable in existing projects" and "Changed public attitudes." These same two directors had stated that their programs were evaluated through internal evaluation, management evaluation system and annual performance review. The problem in both cases is that the programs were evaluated in terms of inputs but the directors still listed as achievements outcomes, something which they had not evaluated.

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[6] Ibid.

In the first case, the existing projects which incorporated citizens' views were mainly pilot projects. These projects were initiated and conceived internally, a step likely to rate the staff a high annual performance, but ignoring that vital procedure in citizen involvement, that citizens be initiators. In this case, citizens were invited to participate after pilots were initiated.

In the second case, since assessment was done internally and no study of public attitudes was made, the director was merely assuming that the program had been successful in changing public attitudes.

Internal consistency between evaluation and achievements was present in one response to Question 19. Where evaluation entailed precise measurement of economic factors in each community before and after government entry, the director reported achievements as: "Increased business, more jobs, higher incomes." We will return to this question of economics and community development in the summary and conclusions.

In one department, the director seemed to be on firmer ground when he listed "changed community attitudes" as an achievement. He stated he was able to draw this conclusion because submissions to his department had to be initiated in the community setting before they were forwarded to the government department concerned. Therefore, it was logical to assume that since more communities had opted into the program in recent years, more communities were accepting the basic philosophy behind the program. What cannot be assumed, however, is that this change in community attitude was brought about by the actions of the government department concerned.

In addition, other responses to Question 19 focused on specifics: signed agreements, grants, or the fact that special recognition had been given to problems in a given area. These actions were interpreted as achievements. Again, achievements are measured by inputs, rather than by the consequences (outputs) of these specific acts of intervention.

Although the directors were very positive in elaborating the successes and achievements of their programs, all expressed that there were problems in their departments. Opinions covered a variety of difficulties, some unique to specific programs. Heading the list of problems in Table 10 is "an entrenched bureaucracy" or "bureaucratic red tape." Those members of the general public who had encountered the frustration of dealing with government should be consoled by the fact that some government employees feel strangled by the same red tape. Bureaucratic problems are many sided. They include cumbersome administrative procedures and also an entrenched group of workers who perceive of changes (particularly those changes introduced from outside their department) as a threat to their authority. This fact makes inter-departmental government relations less than optimum.

## TABLE 10

## MAJOR PROBLEMS IN PROGRAMS

Question 20: What have been the major problems in the program?

| Responses | Number |
|---|---|
| Entrenched bureaucracy-bureaucratic 'red tape' | 4 |
| No clout or power (money brings power) | 2 |
| Demand is for physical services | 2 |
| Democratic process: How do you determine what people want? | 1 |
| Problems in working with organizations | 1 |
| Public is never satisfied | 1 |
| Too much time needed (a) to establish credibility | 1 |
| (b) go get measurable results | 1 |
| Too late for government intervention to be effective | 1 |
| Priorities change | 1 |
| Budget is too low | 1 |
| Values of society are confused | 1 |
| Conservative philosophy of Cabinet | 1 |
| Inter-disciplinary misunderstanding | 1 |
| Abuse of public funds hard to avoid | 1 |
| Future permanency--program may only be a government fad | 1 |

The fact that two respondents stated that their programs lacked "clout" or power is related to the bureaucratic issue. Without a large budget to appropriate, two directors mentioned that they were in a position where they had to persuade line departments to conform to their ideas, often a difficult and time consuming task. In the end, if the line departments perceived "of you as criticizing their creative efforts," the final say and budget was at their discretion.

Some of the other problems illustrated in Table 10 show some inter-relationship. The democratic process can be frustrating: What do people really want or do they know? How can you solicit maximum participation from citizens and satisfy the great majority? How can you incorporate the ideas of the majority into feasible government programs? How can you reach group decisions in the shortest time possible? When attempting to involve the populace in decision-making, these difficulties often arise. However, as cumbersome as these democratic procedures may appear, they are considered an essential ingredient of community development.

Some colourful, expletive comments were offered in response to this final question of program problems. One director complained "that the public understanding of issues was not developed and often the public ignored vital, human concerns and demanded better roads." It was also perceived by one respondent that a "conservative Cabinet held both the purse strings and the general attitude that: 'We have made it on our own, why can't all of Albertans do the same?'" In this vein, the Cabinet holds "motherhood and some programs dear but don't believe money should be spent on either--not a government responsibility." In one case the problem was explained as the "delicate interface between the role of civil servant, the public and politicians. . . . Kid gloves are needed " to handle issues and maintain ministerial support and funds and, at the same time, keep the public informed and happy.

In conclusion, although the departments reported time, money and democratic-process problems, the largest, single difficulty identified was the internally-created bureaucratic red tape.

## Summary and Conclusions

The interview/questionnaire revealed that the objectives of the selected programs were focused on human concerns, such as promoting social change and educating the public. The methods which were used in the programs were consistent with community development principles and practices. It would appear that the methods provided a logical vehicle for accomplishing the stated objectives.

The clientele served was sometimes geographically bounded or socio-economically limited. Some programs were directed at and responsive to all Albertans.

Answers indicated that the directors interviewed were concerned with citizen involvement aspects of their programs. The attitude of most was that an open, non-authoritarian relationship existed between each staff and the population served and that citizens were participants in programs and had input into the decision-making process. However, it was pointed out that the director perceived of his role as that of a filter of public opinion. Ultimate authority for decisions rested with the director. This, of necessity, would sometimes call for his own personal value judgments.

Program evaluation was neither comprehensive nor justifiable according to responses. Emphasis was on internal evaluation, or input, rather than on consequences and output. As well, evaluative procedures did not appear to be directly related to either stated objectives or recorded achievements. Although the main objectives were listed as social change (5), education (5), citizen participation (3) and human resource development (3), no director mentioned that he had attempted to evaluate the amount of social change, or attitudinal changes in citizens, or the impact of participation on both government and communities or, finally, the amount of additional human resource development since the advent of the program.

The conclusion is that, although directors indicated that they were successful in achieving stated objectives, they did not employ any evaluative instrument which would allow them to accurately make such a statement. Those interviewed merely assumed they were successful since they lacked any evidence which would verify their statements.

Changes in departmental evaluation techniques are necessary before it will be possible to determine if the objectives are being realized. Less emphasis on input, such as staff performance, is needed and more emphasis on output, or the consequences of government actions on Albertans, is required. An additional advantage of this changed and expanded evaluation would be a comparative assessment of methods. Where objectives were not being met, viable alternative methods could be substituted and the relative merits of these judged. Flexibility would become a built in part of programs, allowing more adaptations and modifications rather than continued support for existing procedures.

It would appear that, in at least one respect, the problems that plagued government community development programs ten years ago still plague them today. In the earlier discussion about the defunct Human Resources Development Authority, a major problem was the perception by line departments that the Authority was usurping departmental power. In the interview/questionnaire, directors still described some line departments as entrenched, hard-to-change bureaucracies. Because most community development programs have a limited budget and because some function as co-ordinating bodies of human resource development whose sphere of influence is intended to cover many departments with larger financial allocations, they sometimes find themselves "like a tail trying to wag a stubborn dog." Without the power, convincing departments to support community development projects can be extremely time consuming and frustrating. One is left with the impression that a large bureaucracy like government provides a breeding ground for departmentally segregated power centres. As size and financial appropriations grow, each department becomes a jealously-guarded bastion.

Other problems experienced by the directors interviewed were problems which are commonly associated with human interaction--gaining a consensus of opinion, determining wants and clarifying different viewpoints in an attempt to set priorities and make decisions.

Some specific differences in program emphasis emerged from the various program interviews. The Rural Development Assistance Program presented an economic view of community development. The program was created after the Progressive Conservative Party took over the reins of government and followed the ARDA (Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act) Agreements. The Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) is the current federal branch which co-signs the Canada - Alberta Nutritive Processing Assistance Agreement (1975). Government-sponsored, regional development in Canada has been primarily directed at re-vitalizing the economic structure of a region. Human concerns take on the same perspective, i.e., work builds a man's character and sound community development fulfills a man's need for a decent standard of living and enables him to contribute to the overall development of his community.

In the 1975 Nutritive Processing Agreement, it would appear that the Canadian and Albertan governments share the opinion that economic attractions also contribute to the social welfare of a community. The advertising pamphlet states:

> The purpose of the agreement is to improve the advantages of rural living by helping the communities to become more attractive, economically and socially.[7]

However, the success of the program is not measured in social but in economic terms: increased family incomes, more job opportunities and strengthened economic viability in communities. Because objectives were outlined in economic terms, evaluation procedures indicated that the objectives were realized.

One final factor in community development departments that bears mentioning is the personality of the director. Each man casts a unique influence on his job and the manner in which the department is administered. Methods often correspond with the beliefs and attitudes of the program head.

It is likely that personality traits also have a bearing on responses. That is, a person's self-image is dependent, to a certain extent, on his success or failure on the job. For this reason, respondents are likely to unconsciously stress successes. For some, job failure would be synonymous with personal failure. Despite this fact, in at least one case, the director was candidly objective about his program.

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[7] Alberta, Department of Agriculture, Nutritive Processing Assistance: A Canada-Alberta Agreement (DREE), April 1, 1975, p. 3.

The impression, highly speculative, gained from the interviews was that the community development programs had attracted a variety of personality types. To some, the job was but one step in an ambitious civil service career. To others, the position provided an opportunity to work towards goals which mirrored a personal philosophy. In the long run, these factors would play an influential part in the program operations.

On the whole, the interview/questionnaire revealed both strengths and weaknesses in government community development programs. The strengths lay in the stated objectives and in the methods. Contact with local organizations and communities is considered a valid approach to community development and citizen input in decision-making is most important. The weaknesses lay in the ineffective evaluation of the consequences of government and citizen actions. Moreover, when the director has the final say, it is difficult to estimate how many citizen ideas are implemented in a department, and where ideas are initiated. Good intentions and worthy theories cannot be accepted as equivalents to social change, education or human resource development.

## CHAPTER V

# A NINE YEAR OVERVIEW OF ALBERTA GOVERNMENT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FISCAL POLICY

> As for growth, that is good, very good, provided you want growth and provided the growth is in the things you want.
>
> \- Enoch Powell

The most noticeable feature of present budgets compared with past budgets is the growth in the actual dollars wielded by the Alberta government. When the inflation factor is removed by using constant (1971) dollars, provincial expenditures have grown from $1,065,297,427 in 1968 to $1,741,028,517 in 1976.

This chapter constitutes an attempt to ascertain what trends emerge in Alberta fiscal policy as it relates to community development programs. Is the growth in community spending reflected in a parallel growth in community development program financing? What have been the major changes in public priorities? What is the relative wealth of Alberta and how does the government allocate its wealth?

## Expenditures

In an attempt to answer these questions, the consolidated statements of estimated revenues and expenditures of the Alberta government since 1966 were examined. For the purpose of comparison, community development programs are isolated from four selected fiscal years. These years provide two budgets tabled by the government while the

Social Credit Party held the reins of government and two budgets tabled by the current government leaders, the Progressive Conservative Party.

Certain services provided by government recur consistently in budgets over a long time period. Other programs remain the same in content but are designated by a different name. Still other programs are shuffled from department to department, possibly ending as separate departments in their own right when public and government interest intensifies. Finally, some programs, implemented during times of change, are quickly dropped as social and/or government fads dissipate. The Department of Youth lasted only a few years. The Department of Environment, initiated as smaller expenditures under Agriculture and Executive-Council, has now consolidated into a single department with a growing budget of its own.

Programs which are identified as community development programs and which have changed names or departments are tabled under the most recent classification in this chapter. Basically, the format parallels that used in Chapter III. That is, primary and secondary community development programs which were isolated from the 1976-77 estimated expenditures are traced back through earlier estimates. As well, a search is made for additional community development programs which may have been implemented in the past but have subsequently been dropped.

Table II documents the primary community development programs financed by the Alberta government for four selected years. The first two budgets, for the fiscal years ending in 1969 and 1972, were tabled by the Social Credit Party. In the latter year, 1971-72, the Progres-

### TABLE 11

### ALBERTA GOVERNMENT FINANCED PRIMARY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS FOR FISCAL YEARS 1968-69, 1971-72, 1972-73, 1976-77

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 | | 1968-69 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government Department | PROGRAM | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| Advanced Education and Manpower (Education prior to 1972-73) | Community Vocational Centres (Satellite Centres) | - | 151,000[a] | 412,220 | 978,269 |
| Agriculture | Farm (Agricultural) Economics Branch | 417,840 | 604,060 | - | - |
| | International Development Assistance | - | - | - | 1,245,144 |
| | Agricultural Extension | 325,265 | - | - | - |
| | Women's Extension | 342,040 | 499,500 | - | - |
| | Rural Development Assistance (Advisory Services) | - | - | 58,730<br>43,170<br>351,290<br>378,535<br>303,025<br>332,835<br>409,505<br>359,995<br>338,645<br>139,070 | 438,628<br>6,556,627<br>448,283<br>5,295,815 |

## TABLE 11- Continued

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 | | 1968-69 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government Department | Program | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| Business Development and Tourism | Northern Development (Northern Alberta Development Council) | (Listed under Executive Council)<br>30,680<br>(Capital 4,000,000) | 32,720<br>(Capital, 202,000) | 75,000 | 65,000<br>358,000<br>55,000 |
| Consumer and Corporate Affairs | Co-op Formation and Regulation | (Business Development & Tourism)<br>230,060 | 419,220 | (Agriculture)<br>545,960 | 391,996 |
| Culture (Culture, Youth and Recreation, 1972-73) | HRDA Programs | - | 32,710 | - | - |
| | International Assistance | - | - | - | 2,453,000 |
| Environment (Prior to 1972-73, under Agriculture) | Environment Conservation Authority | - | (Exe. Cncl.)<br>232,324 | 287,970 | 897,000 |
| | Land Conservation (Resource Conservation) | 56,570 | | 672,360 | |
| | Information Services (Interdepartmental Planning) | | 94,210<br>530,990<br>(Capital 1,000,000) | 232,600<br>329,750<br>104,770<br>672,360<br>(Capital 600,000) | 5,915,000 |

TABLE 11- Continued

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 | | 1968-69 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government Department | Program | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| Executive Council | Women's Bureau | 16,535 | 26,100 | 42,095 | 76,362 |
| | Support to Native Organizations | - | - | - | 1,887,000 |
| | Human Resources Research Council | 400,000 | 700,000 | 450,000 (128,700 Supplementary) | - |
| | Human Resources Development Authority | 67,390 | 131,900 | 161,536 | |
| | Alberta Advisory Council | 38,400 | 41,184 | - | - |
| | Community Development Branch | (Bus. Dev. & Tourism) 330,360 | 633,249 | 1,757,612 | - |
| | Lesser Slave Lake Projects | - | 2,000,000 (Capital 4,000,000) | 975,000 (Capital 1,850,000) | - |
| | ARDA (Human Resources Development Projects in 1971-72) | (Agriculture) 2,866,881 (Capital 5,468,974) | 2,507,560 | Subsumed under C.D. | - |

TABLE 11- Continued

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 | | 1968-69 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government Department | Program | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| Municipal Affairs | Northeast Alberta Regional Commission | - | - | - | 633,180 |
| | Support to Community Planning Services | - | - | - | 89,750<br>1,276,696<br>260,376<br>3,318,000 |
| | Regional Planning Council | - | - | - | |
| | Prov. Planning Advisory Board | 432,360 | 604,800 | 822,230 | |
| | Town Planning | 270,450 | 350,100 | 393,165 | |
| Social Services and Community Health (Formerly Dept. of Health, Dept. of Welfare, 1968-69; Dept. of Social Development 1972-73) | Preventive Social Services | 1,300,000 | 2,400,000 | 3,193,000 | 11,034,740 |
| | Metis Rehabilitation | 603,080 | 1,000,628 | 1,018,530 | 823,860 |
| | Metis Development Projects | - | - | - | 1,868,210 |
| | Social Planning | 70,230 | 90,295 | - | - |
| | Opportunity Corps | (Funded through HRDA) | | 782,330 | 1,867,340 |

## TABLE 11 - Continued

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 | | 1968 - 1969<br>$ | 1971 - 1972<br>$ | 1972 - 1973<br>$ | 1976 - 1977<br>$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Totals | Income Account | 7,798,141 | 13,082,550 | 15,771,988 | |
| | Capital Account | 9,468,974 | 5,202,000 | 2,450,000 | 48,317,488[b] |
| Total Primary Community Development Program Estimates | | 17,267,115 | 18,284,550 | 18,221,988 | 48,317,488 |

a) Based on supplementary forecast.

b) Income and Capital Accounts are combined in this budget.

Sources: Adapted from Alberta, "Estimates of Revenue and Amounts to be Voted for the Public Service of Alberta for the Fiscal Year - April 1, 1968 to March 31, 1969." (Also April 1, 1971 to March 31, 1972) Alberta, Estimates of Expenditure 1972-73 (Income and Capital Account) Tabled March 2, 1973.

Alberta, Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77: Supplementary Information, Element Details, Tabled March 19, 1976.

sive Conservative Party won a wide majority of seats. However, the budget (estimate) was tabled prior to the election and should thus reflect the priorities of the Social Credit Party which introduced the budget. The last two budgets, for 1972-73 and 1976-77, represent the first budget tabled by the present administration and a more current budget.

When comparing these four years, certain differences and similarities are evident. Some programs have remained relatively constant over the years, having grown financially only in line with inflation. The Department of Environment, however, has expanded financially at a rate which exceeds both the rate of inflation and the rate of growth in many other departments. This increasing government intervention in environmental matters is reflective of increased public interest in the area. A recent addition to the budget is international assistance. On the other hand, the Progressive Conservative Government has dropped totally those services of Executive-Council formerly designated as "Human Resources." Included in these discontinued programs is the Community Development Branch.

When totalled, the amount allocated for primary community development programs in 1976-77 is 2.8 times greater than in 1968-69. However, as Table 13 indicates, the total estimated expenditures were 3.4 times greater in 1976-77 than in 1968-69. The current administration earmarks a smaller percentage of the total budget to primary community development.

Table 12 outlines the secondary community development programs financed over the same four selected years. Current expenditures for secondary community development programs are higher than in 1968-69 when expressed as a percentage of total estimated expenditures. That is, although the total estimated expenditures were 3.4 times greater in 1976-77 than in 1968-69, secondary community development programs were 4.7 times greater than in 1976-77 than in 1968-69.

It would appear that the present administration is more committed to secondary community development programs than past governments, who financially gave more support to primary community development programs. Table 12 indicates that the 1976-77 financial commitment to secondary community development is heavily concentrated in one or two areas. Estimated expenditures for students assistance, vocational rehabilitation and training and ACCESS total $33,954,522 or 78.8 percent of the total secondary community development expenditures. This current educational emphasis accounts for the increased secondary community development expenditures in 1976-77 over previous years.

Table 13 provides an overall summary of community development estimated expenditures and total estimated budget expenditures giving the percentage the former is of the latter. General estimated expenditures were 3.4 times greater in 1976-77 than in 1968-69. When viewed as a percentage of total estimated budget expenditures, community development estimated expenditures have been consistently low over the four selected years. The 3.14 percent budgeted in 1976-77 closely parallels the 1968-69 figures of 3.05 percent of the total budget. One might hypothesize that community development programs occupied a low priority in government expenditures in all of the selected years, ranging from 2.20 percent to 3.14 percent.

## TABLE 12

## ALBERTA GOVERNMENT FINANCED SECONDARY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS FOR FISCAL YEARS 1968-69, 1971-72, 1972-73, 1976-77

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 (Estimates) | | 1968-69 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government Department | PROGRAM | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| Advanced Education and Manpower<br>(Education prior to 1972-73) | Students Assistance<br>(finance, loan interest)<br>Vocational Training and Rehabilitation | 3,497,540<br>(capital 400,000)<br>224,540<br>565,800<br>67,060 | 7,106,730<br>422,720<br>712,160<br>625,620 | 1,994,280<br>1,334,600<br>572,430<br>2,107,310<br>1,189,460 | 920,600<br>14,788,000<br>1,861,000<br>2,323,218<br>2,754,068<br>3,614,566 |
| Consumer and Corporate Affairs | Consumer Education and Protection | - | - | - | 421,395<br>348,655<br>205,059 |
| Culture<br>(Culture, Youth and Recreation in 1972-73) | Alberta Service Corps<br>(Youth Services)<br>Special Projects<br>Cultural Development Branch<br>(Cultural Heritage Branch) | No. Dep't. at this time<br>-<br>(Listed under Provincial Secretary)<br>947,010 | 176,820<br>119,830<br>1,283,680 | 178,220<br>-<br>841,590 | -<br>-<br>144,595<br>261,000<br>140,475<br>52,030 |

## TABLE I2- Continued

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 (Estimates) | | 1968-69 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government Department | Program | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| Executive Council | ACCESS | | | | 1,343,000<br>5,766,000<br>491,000<br>93,100 |
| | Educational Television | (Listed under Dept. of Education)<br>312,480 | 523,300 | 596,400 | - |
| Labor (Manpower and Labor in 1972-73) | Human Rights Commission | 26,560 | 47,814 | 78,034 | 625,299 |
| Recreation Parks and Wildlife (Dept. of Youth in 1968-69) | Sports and Fitness Development | - | - | - | 611,900<br>170,140<br>236,430<br>71,950 |
| | Outdoor Recreation Development | - | - | - | 567,240<br>35,000<br>128,280<br>305,110 |
| | Recreation Branch[a] | 1,748,100 | 1,469,470 | 1,490,050 | - |

## TABLE I2- Continued

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 (Estimates) | | 1968-69 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government Department | Program | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| Social Services & Community Health (Formerly Dept. of Health, Dept. of Welfare, 1968-69; Dept. of Social Development 1972-73) | Services for the Handicapped (Disabled persons, developmentally handicapped) | | | | 866,680 |
| | | | | | 4,831,570 |
| | | 17,100 | 10,000 | | |
| | | 38,075 | 81,400 | 1,000,000 | |
| | | 122,000 | | | |
| | Preventive and Community Health Services | | | 384,290 | 104,470 |
| | | - | - | | 63,950 |
| | | | | | 152,650 |
| | Public Health Education (Alcoholism & Drug Abuse Education) | 63,800 | 97,700 | - | - |
| | | | | | 186,118 |
| | | 20,100 | - | | 220,000 |
| | | | | 132,290 | -- |
| | Public Communication Extension | 1,419,000 | 819,000 | - | - |
| TOTALS | Income Account | 9,069,165 | 13,496,244 | 11,898,954 | 44,765,928[b] |
| | Capital Account | 400,000 | - | - | |
| Total Secondary Community Development Program Estimates | | 9,469,165 | 13,496,244 | 11,898,954 | 44,765,928 |

a) No program breakdown provided.

b) Income and capital accounts combined in this budget.

Sources: Adapted from Alberta, "Estimates of Revenue and Amounts to be Voted for the Public Service of Alberta for the Fiscal Year April 1, 1968 to March 31, 1969" (Also, April 1, 1971 to March 31, 1972) Alberta, Estimates of Expenditure 1972-73 (Income and Capital Account), Tabled March 2, 1973. Alberta, Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77: Supplementary Information, Element Details, Tabled March 19, 1976

## TABLE 13

## TOTAL PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ALBERTA GOVERNMENT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS AND ESTIMATED CONSOLIDATED EXPENDITURES FOR THE FISCAL YEARS 1968-69, 1971-72, 1972-73, 1976-77

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 | 1968-69 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Primary Community Development Estimated Expenditures* | $17,267,115 | $18,284.550 | $18,221,988 | $48,317,488 |
| Total Secondary Community Development Estimated Expenditures* | 9,469,165 | 13,496,244 | 11,898,954 | 44,765,928 |
| Total Community Development Estimated Expenditures* | 26,736,280 | 31,780,794 | 30,120,942 | 93,083,416 |
| Total Community Development Expenditures in Constant (1971) Dollars | 32,525,645 | 31,780,794 | 27,967,448 | 54,722,761 |
| Consolidated Alberta Estimated Expenditures* | 875,674,485 | 1,182,722,940 | 1,368,958,456 | 2,961,449,507 |
| Consolidated Alberta Estimated Expenditures in Constant (1971) Dollars | 1,065,977,427 | 1,182,722,940 | 1,271,084,917 | 1,741.028,517 |
| Community Development Estimated Expenditures as a Percent of total Provincial Government Estimated Expenditures | 3.05 | 2.69 | 2.20 | 3.14 |

*Income and Capital accounts are combined.

Sources: Same as Tables 11 and 12 and Alberta, Budget Address, 1972.

Dept. of Finance Canada, Economic Review (May, 1977), p. 172. Government current expenditure in constant dollars is based on Government Current Expenditure on Goods and Services (Implicit Price Indexes).

The Progressive Conservative Party tabled the highest combined community development expenditures in 1976-77 but also tabled the lowest combined community development expenditures in the 1972-73 budget, their first post-election budget. The main explanation for the 1972-73 low (community development expenditures were 2.20 percent of total estimated expenditures) was the noticeable cutback in those primary community development programs labelled "Human Resources" by the Social Credit administration. The 1972 Budget Address, which preceded the first modern Progressive Conservative Budget Estimates, expressed opposition to certain "Human Resources" programs. For example, ARDA (Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development) was a federal-provincial shared cost program. The Hon. G. T. Miniely stated:

> The area of federal-provincial shared cost programs is of great concern to our Government. Approximately 40% of our direct provincial budget is tied to these programs, and as our Premier outlined: "This imposes a totally unacceptable degree of rigidity on our fiscal planning. . ."[1]

Those "Human Resources" programs to which the Progressive Conservative government did not openly voice opposition were silently opposed through withdrawal of funds. Table 14 indicates the fate of the "Human Resources" budget over a consecutive five year period from 1969-70 to 1973-74. The final two years, 1972-73 and 1973-74, consist of budget estimates tabled after the Progressive Conservatives assumed the reins of government. The figures indicate a sharp decline in "Human Resources" expenditures after the final Social Credit estimates in 1971-72.

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[1] Alberta, Budget Address, 1972, Tabled March 17, 1972, p. 6.

## TABLE 14

## ALBERTA ESTIMATES OF EXPENDITURE FOR HUMAN RESOURCES FOR THE FISCAL YEARS 1969-70 to 1973-74

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 | 1969-70 | 1970-71 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1973-74 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Human Resources Research Council | 750,000 | 900,000 | 700,000 | 450,000<br>(+ 128,700) | 200,000 |
| Human Resources Development Authority | 114,700 | 123,206 | 131,900 | 161,536 | phased out |
| Alberta Advisory Council | 38,070 | 44,765 | 41,184 | discontinued | - |
| Community Development Branch | 413,120 | 413,120 | 633,249 | 1,757,612 | discontinued |
| Lesser Slave Lake Projects | - | 2,016,000 | 2,000,000 | 975,000 | 450,000 |
| ARDA (Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development) | 2,811,000 | 1,260,000 | 2,507,560 | subsumed under C.D. Branch | - |
| HRDA Youth Programs | 30,500 | 25,570 | 32,710 | - | 144,910 |
| Office of Program Co-ordination (to replace Human Resources) | - | - | - | - | 841,650 |
| Capital Account | 5,300,000 | 1,605,000 | 4,000,000 | 1,850,000 | 1,650,000 |
| TOTAL HUMAN RESOURCES EXPENDITURES | 9,457,390 | 6,387,661 | 10,046,603 | 5,322,848 | 3,286,560 |

Source: Same as in Table 11.

## Revenues

The focus thus far has been on one aspect of government budgeting expenditures. The tables illustrate how the government estimates it will spend the money in the general revenue fund. We shall now turn to the other side of the budget ledger, revenues.

The Alberta government has certain sources of financing for the general revenue fund. These budgetary revenues are received from taxes, resource revenues, fees, permits, revenue producing assets and the Government of Canada, to name a few. The amount of revenue which each area contributes varies from year to year. Governments, both provincial and federal, have the power to raise or lower taxes, fees, permits or licences in an effort to balance the budget.

Each year, consolidated budget statements (see Appendices) reveal if there will be a budget surplus, an excess of revenue over expenditure, or a budget deficit, the amount the expenditures exceed revenues. In addition, there are non-budgetary government transactions. These include such things as loans and advances and Crown Corporations.

If a budget deficit is tabled, sources of additional financing for the general revenue fund are sought. Traditionally, the Alberta government has borrowed money through bank loans, from the Government of Canada, or through public debentures and treasury bills. In addition, the government can reduce its bill payments or decrease investments or liquid reserves to add additional money to the general revenue fund to cover the deficit.

Similarly, when there is a budget surplus, the above procedures are reversed. Investments, liquid reserves and bill payments can be increased rather than decreased. Loans, which may have been made to cover a deficit in an earlier year, can be reduced through the surplus revenue of a later year. Generally speaking, the method the government utilizes to either borrow funds or invest is dependent on the current economic conditions in the province. Usually, the Treasury adopts those procedures which are most likely to minimize cost to the province and which, in the long run, will augment the financial position of the province.

Because of accounting procedures, the budget surplus or deficit is not necessarily a good indicator of the financial strength or weakness of any province. Table 15 provides an overview of the budgetary surplus or deficit over a ten year period in Alberta. Six out of ten budgets showed a deficit. There does not appear to be a relationship between a deficit budget and a financially bad year for Alberta. In fact, during the 1975-76 and 1976-77 deficit years, total assets and revenues of the province had never been higher. The reason for deficit budgets in these years is that revenues have been transferred out of the general revenue fund into other assets and reserves set up by the province, the most notable one being the current Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund. These Fund monies are subsequently excluded from budgetary revenues, leaving the impression that revenues are smaller than they actually are.

In addition, all estimates of budget surplus or deficit are based on known prices for crude oil and natural gas. However, increases for these items have been a regular occurrence in recent years. In this

## TABLE 15

### ALBERTA BUDGETARY SURPLUS OR DEFICIT IN THE GENERAL REVENUE FUND FOR THE FISCAL YEARS FROM 1967-68 to 1976-77
(millions of dollars)

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 | 1967 -68 | 1968 -69 | 1969 -70 | 1970-71 | 1971-72 Forecast[a] | 1972-73 | 1973-74 | 1974-75 | 1975-76 Forecast[b] | 1976-77 Estimate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Surplus or Deficit* | 99.7 | 31.0 | 28.9* | 100.8* | 153.3* | 61.1* | 178.9 | 99.0 | 85.0* | 31.4* |

a) Forecast based on ten months actual and two months estimated.

b) Forecast based on nine months actual and three months estimated.

Sources: Alberta, Budget Address, 1976, p. 24.
Alberta, Public Accounts, 1972-73, p. 43.
Alberta, Budget Address, 1971, p. 24.

way, the $31 million deficit tabled in the 1976-77 budget estimates can be expected to be cancelled by the anticipated increases in non-renewable resources revenue which may occur at later intervals in the fiscal year.

The information on general budgeting procedures has relevance for this thesis. It is proposed that government spending on community development should not only be compared with total budgetary expenditures in any given year, but should also be compared with the spending potential of any government. That is, investments and assets such as the Alberta Heritage Trust Fund could be added to total budget expenditures in the general revenue fund because the government could have earmarked this money for additional community development programs. As it stands, Heritage Funds are being allocated by the Cabinet into three investment divisions, Capital Projects, Canada and Alberta Investments. The funds are being directed into numerous projects, none of which can be classified as community development projects as they are defined in this thesis.[2]

The main reason for introducing revenues in this chapter is to attempt to prove that the actual revenue of Alberta has increased over the past nine years. This increase is sizeable after accounting for inflationary growth. Thus, had total revenues and assets been included in Table 6, rather than total expenditures, the percentage allocated to community development programs would have been smaller in

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[2] See the conclusion of Chapter III for information on guidelines for proposed expenditures from the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund.

1976-77 than in previous slected years. In fact, the government arbitrarily allocated money to the Heritage Trust for the expressed purpose of limiting expenditures on government services made possible by large increases in non-renewable resources revenues.[3]

There are problems and limitations involved in trying to ascertain the cumulative wealth of Alberta at any given time. Public accounts do not provide a figure representing the total assets of all branches of government endeavour. What the accounts do provide is a summary of all financial activities in each fiscal year.

> Fixed assets consisting of roads, bridges, ferries, buildings, public works, furniture, equipment, automobiles, etc. are shown for balance sheet purposes at a nominal value of $1.[4]

Similarly, no single figure is listed for cumulative wealth in reserves and investments. Therefore, problems arise when attempting to compare total liquid reserves, profit making investments, Heritage Trust Fund, Treasury Branch Reserve Fund and all similar assets for any given year. Moreover, accounting procedures, listed in the notes to financial statements, indicate that it is difficult to obtain an accurate figure of consolidated total assets because of deletions and transfers in the budget schedules.

For these reasons, yearly revenues are used here as the prime indicator of increased or decreased wealth. The financial status of Alberta, relative to other Canadian provinces, has been consistently favourable over the past ten years. However, since 1973-74 there has been a noticeable change in the revenue structure. The non-renewable resources revenue, always a healthy contributor of funds, has become the single dominating revenue source in the province. Table 16 provides a summary of budgetary revenues from 1973-74 to 1976-77. The dramatic increase in non-renewable resources revenues from $540 million in 1973-74 to $1,329 million in 1976-77 leads the general growth in revenues. Moreover, as the Notes to Table 16 explain, the $1,329 million figure in 1976-77 excludes the $620 million allocated to the Heritage Savings Trust Fund. The real growth in resources revenue would be from $540 million in 1973-74 to $1,949 million in 1976-77. Thus, 66.5 percent (not 45.4 percent as listed in the chart) of the total revenues in 1976-77 was from non-renewable resources revenues.

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[3] Budget Address, 1976, p. 5.

[4] Alberta, Public Accounts, 1974-75, p. 24.

Table 17 provides sources of revenues for the years 1967-68 to 1971-72 for comparison. The contribution of "Natural Resources" to total revenues during these five years from 1968 to 1972 was very consistent. Income tax revenue showed a much greater increase during these earlier years while in current years tax revenue has shown only a modest growth in actual dollars and a decrease when expressed as a percentage of total revenue. To supply a comparison of revenue structure, Figure I provides the estimated revenue by source for 1971-72 and 1976-77.

## TABLE 16

### SUMMARY OF BUDGETARY REVENUES 1973-74 TO 1976-77

| | 1976-77 | | | 1975-76 | | 1974-75 | 1973-74 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Estimate | % Distribution | % Change[a] | Forecast | Estimate | | |
| | | | | (millions of dollars) | | | |
| Tax Revenues | | | | | | | |
| Personal Income Tax[b] | 372.0 | 12.7 | 11.0 | 335.0 | 285.0 | 339.5 | 281.7 |
| Corporate Income Tax[c] | 156.0 | 5.3 | –40.5 | 262.0 | 233.0 | 276.5 | 115.3 |
| Gasoline and Fuel Oil Tax | 87.0 | 3.0 | 4.8 | 83.0 | 82.6 | 79.3 | 101.8 |
| Other Taxation | 99.0 | 3.4 | 19.3 | 83.0 | 72.6 | 71.2 | 41.2 |
| Total Tax Revenue | 714.0 | 24.4 | –6.4 | 763.0 | 673.2 | 766.5 | 540.0 |
| Net Non-Renewable Resources Revenue[d] | 1,329.0 | 45.4 | 29.8 | 1,024.0 | 1,058.9 | 725.0 | 560.7 |
| Other Fees, Permits and Licences | 82.0 | 2.8 | 6.5 | 77.0 | 75.4 | 76.6 | 72.8 |
| Fines and Penalties | 8.0 | 0.3 | 14.3 | 7.0 | 7.0 | 5.6 | 5.4 |
| Utility and Trading Profits | 127.0 | 4.3 | 12.4 | 113.0 | 111.1 | 94.4 | 87.1 |
| Government of Canada | 518.0 | 17.7 | 9.2 | 474.5 | 448.0 | 353.0 | 283.9 |
| Refunds of Expenditure | 17.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 17.0 | 16.4 | 17.1 | 15.3 |
| Revenue Producing Assets | 61.0 | 2.1 | –46.5 | 114.0 | 128.0 | 77.1 | 34.1 |
| Pension Funds | 69.0 | 2.4 | –4.2 | 72.0 | 53.1 | 53.6 | 80.7 |
| Sales of Assets | 3.0 | 0.1 | 50.0 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 5.7 | 2.1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.1 |
| Total Budgetary Revenue[e] | 2,930.0 | 100.0 | 9.9 | 2,665.5 | 2,574.5 | 2,175.9 | 1,682.9 |

a) Percentage change from the forecast for the 1975-76 fiscal year.

b) Net of Renter Assistance Credit.

c) Net of Royalty Tax Rebate and Royalty Tax Credit.

d) Excludes funds allocated to the proposed Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund.

e) May not add due to rounding.

Source: Alberta, Budget Address, 1976-77, p. 26.

TABLE 17

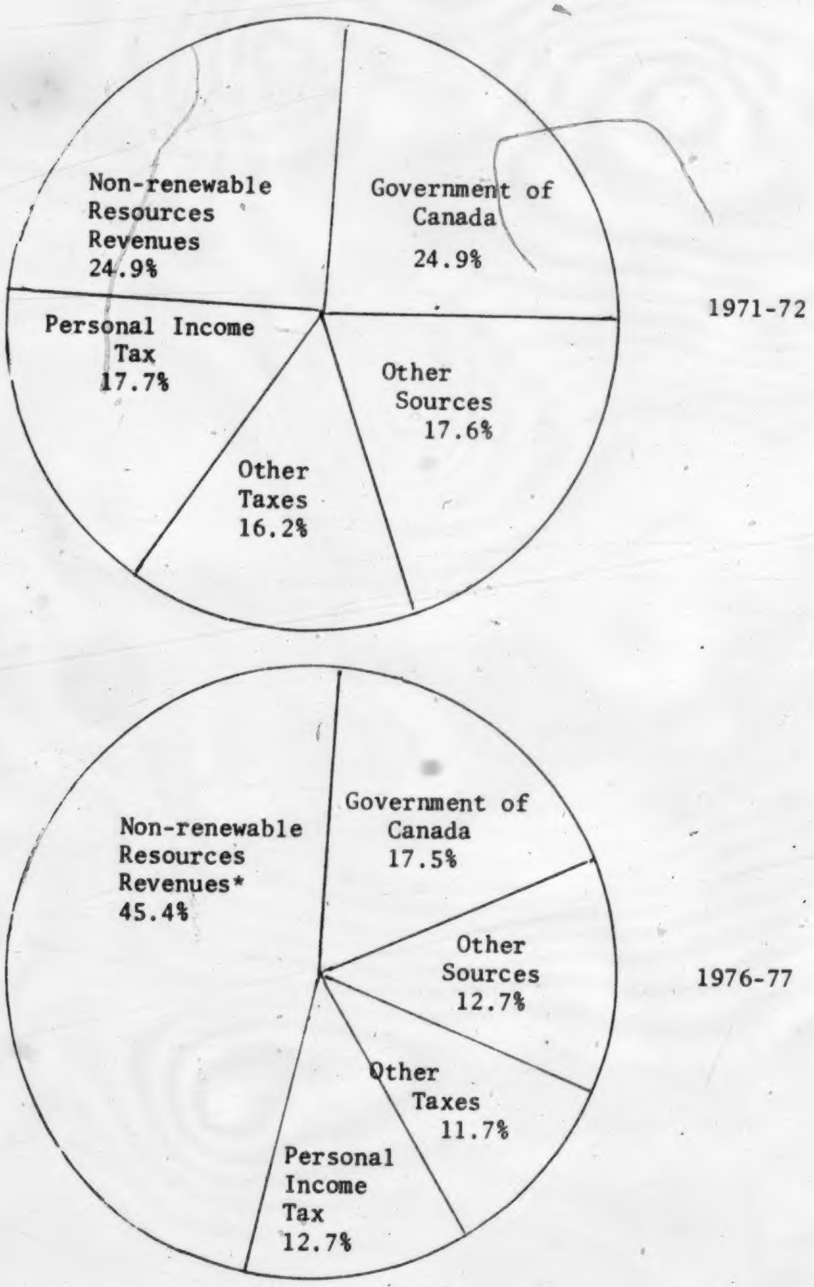
Sources of Budgetary Revenue for the Fiscal Years from 1967-68 to 1971-72

| Sources of Revenue | Estimates 1967-68 | Estimates 1969-69 | Estimates 1969-70 | Estimates 1970-71 | Estimates 1971-72 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The Alberta Income Tax Act | $109,600,000 | $135,000,000 | $172,500,000 | $222,500,000 | $ 242,000.000 |
| Fiscal arrangements and subsidies | 11,421,000 | 12,421,000 | 17,273,000 | 18,808,000 | 19,008,000 |
| Fuel Oil Tax and Auto Licenses | 69,926,000 | 93,875,000 | 100,421,500 | 105,612,800 | 107,868,000 |
| Alberta Liquor Control Board | 35,161,000 | 41,500,000 | 45,311,000 | 56,675,000 | 61,000,000 |
| Natural Resources | 249,710,500 | 250,675,500 | 283,539,000 | 269,430,500 | 266,770,030 |
| Government of Canada | 114,115,140 | 127,451,690 | 150,331,335 | 177,743,870 | 195,808,610 |
| All other sources | 84,947,865 | 92,481,435 | 100,749,440 | 103,644,621 | 97,048,860 |
|  | $674,881,505 | $753,405,625 | $870,125,275 | $954,414,791 | $1,009,501,500 |

Sources: Alberta, Budget Address, 1968-69, p. 17, (Also 1969-70), 1970-71, 1971-72 Budget Address).

FIGURE 1

PERCENTAGE OF ESTIMATED REVENUE BY SOURCE FOR FISCAL YEARS ENDING MARCH 31, 1972 AND MARCH 31, 1977



*Excludes $620 million allocated to Heritage Savings Trust Fund

In summary, Tables 16 and 17 indicate the revenue growth in Alberta during the past five years. Secondly, as non-renewable resources revenues have grown, dependence on other sources of revenues has diminished. Moreover, revenue growth has been greater than growth in expenditures, enabling the province to establish the Heritage Savings Trust Fund with surplus revenues.

To complete the current picture of government revenues, hence government spending potential, we turn to the Heritage Trust Fund, its total assets and the effect of their removal from the general revenue fund. The most up-to-date statement about the Heritage Trust Fund is contained in Table 18. The March 31, 1977 total assets are listed at $2.2 billion. If this $2.2 billion was added to the total government expenditures (Table 13) of $2,961,449,507 for 1976-77, the spending potential of the present government is evident. That means that Alberta had total assets of $5,161,449,507 from which to allocate expenditures in 1976-77. When the $93,083,416 spent on community development programs is expressed as a percentage of this spending potential, the figure is 1.80 percent. In 1976-77, the Alberta government designated 1.80 percent of its current assets to community development programs. If 1976-77 contributions to the Fund are singled out and added, $620.4 million from resources and $77.6 million from interest revenue, it brings the spending potential for that year to $3,581,449,507. Community development programs constitute 2.59 percent of this total.

## TABLE 18

### ALBERTA HERITAGE SAVINGS TRUST FUND

### 1977-78 FINANCIAL ESTIMATES BASED ON EXISTING DECISIONS

| | 31-Mar.-78 | 31-Mar.-77 | Change in Assets |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (millions of dollars) | | |
| **Assets of the Fund** | | | |
| Alberta Investment Division[a] | | | |
| Housing Investments | 577.1 | 424.4 | 152.7 |
| Energy Resources Investments | 460.1 | 320.1 | 140.0 |
| Capital Projects Division[b] | 182.5 | 60.0 | 122.5 |
| Canada Investment Division[a] | 49.5 | 49.5 | — |
| Cash and Marketable Securities | 1,830.8 | 1,346.0 | 484.8 |
| Total Assets | 3,100.0 | 2,200.0 | 900.0 |
| | 1977-78 | 1976-77 | |
| **Additions to the Fund[c]** | | | |
| 30% Share of Non-renewable Resource Revenue | 734.7 | 620.4 | |
| Interest Revenue | 165.3 | 79.6 | |

[a] Based on existing decisions made by the Investment Committee.

[b] Based on appropriations voted by the Legislative Assembly during the 1976 Fall Sitting.

[c] Based on known prices for crude oil and natural gas.

Source: Alberta, Budget Address 1977-78, p. 40.

The conclusion reached is that community development program expenditures, when expressed as a percentage of spending potential or total revenues, were lower under the current government administration in 1972-73 and 1976-77 than they were in the 1968-69 and 1971-72 fiscal years under the Social Credit leadership. The Alberta government may counter this argument with the fact that all departmental expenditures would be lower when expressed as a percentage of spending potential or total revenues (Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund combined with total estimated expenditures). The important issue here is the fact that investments are already being allocated from the Trust Fund and these expenditures are not community development in nature. However, since some investments of the Fund are related to existing departmental activities, one can conclude that the government would have increased expenditures in these departments, if no Fund had been arbitrarily created. For example, Trust Funds have been invested in the Syncrude Project. Prior to this investment, the Energy and Natural Resources Department was already managing the province's existing equity in Syncrude. The decision to allocate more funds to this Project was made. Without the Heritage Trust, the decision to invest would logically have been financed through the annual budget estimates of the Department of Energy and Natural Resources. Similar arguments could be made for Trust Fund expenditures on Health Care Facilities and on the Alberta Housing Corporation. In pre-Trust Fund Days, such expenditures would have been tabled under the Departments of Hospitals and Medical Care and Housing and Public Works, respectively. If all of these investments were tabled under annual budget estimates of expenditure, the percentage of the total budget estimates directed to community development would show a relative decline.

Thus far, we have examined community development estimated expenditures as a percentage of total estimated expenditures over a nine year period as well as community development estimated expenditures as a percentage of the provincial budgetary estimates plus the Alberta Heritage Trust Fund. Table 19 provides another view of expenditures, per capita estimates of expenditure. Basically, the table indicates that the Alberta government now spends more per person than at any other time. When the inflation factor is removed (by using 1971 constant dollar figures), actual per person estimated expenditures for both community development and total budgetary estimated expenditures have risen at approximately the same rate over the nine years. Again, the figures exclude the Heritage Trust Fund.

All of the tables in this chapter tend to support some basic trends. Today, more money (both in real dollars and in constant dollars) is being spent by the government than at any time in the past. In Alberta, government revenue is at an all-time high due to large increases in non-renewable resources revenues. Community development expenditures have remained a consistent, but relatively low, percentage of total budget expenditures. However, this is not intended to imply that funds should necessarily be re-directed from other annual departmental estimates to augment community development programs. The whole idea of what economists call opportunity costs would

## TABLE 19

## ALBERTA POPULATION AND PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES (IN REAL AND CONSTANT DOLLARS[2]) ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS AND ESTIMATED CONSOLIDATED EXPENDITURES FOR THE FISCAL YEARS 1968-69, 1971-72, 1972-73, 1976-77

| Fiscal Years Ending March 31 | 1968-69 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1976-77 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alberta Population[1] | 1,524,000 | 1,627,874 | 1,654,000 | 1,799,771 |
| Per Capita Estimated Consolidated Expenditures | $699 | $727. | $828. | $1,645. |
| Per Capita Estimated Consolidated Expenditures in Constant Dollars[2] | $699. | $727. | $768. | $967. |
| Per Capita Estimated Community Development Expenditures | $ 18. | $ 20. | $ 18. | $ 52. |
| Per Capita Estimated Community Development Expenditures in Constant Dollars[2] | $ 21 | $ 20 | $ 17. | $ 30 |

[1] Population figures are for the years 1968, 1971, 1972, 1976

[2] Government current expenditure in constant (1971) dollars is based on Government Current Expenditure on Goods and Services (Implicit Price Indexes), Department of Finance Canada, Economic Review (May, 1977), p. 172.

Other Sources: Same as in Tables 11, 12 and 13.

have to be given consideration. That is, the opportunity cost of the added community development ventures would be the alternatives that had to be given up to acquire them. For example, re-channeling funds from education to community development may involve foregoing one desirable pattern of benefits to attain another.

On the other hand, given the present windfall housed in the Heritage Trust, modest increases in community development expenditures would not be considered unreasonable. An investment in human resources is one type of future investment. At the very least, citizens might demand that those finances that are earmarked for community development are spent efficiently and for the optimum realization of stated goals.

## Summary and Conclusions

The first section of this chapter dealt with government expenditures on primary and secondary community development programs. It was found that when primary community development expenditures are compared to total budget expenditures, the amount allocated in 1976-77 was a smaller percentage of the total expenditures than that allocated in 1968-69.

However, secondary community development program expenditures constitute a higher percentage of the total expenditures in 1976-77 than in 1968-69. This difference was mainly because of large increases in students assistance, vocational training and ACCESS, listed under secondary community development in 1976-77.

When all community development expenditures were totalled, it was found that expenditures are consistently low (3.1 percent or less when expressed as a percentage of total expenditures) in all of the years charted.

Some additional observations can be made from the budget statements. The money allocated for "Human Resources" sharply declined when the Progressive Conservative Party gained control. In the field of community development, these "Human Resources" expenditures were considered a "pure" form of community development. Not only were they committed to large scale social change but they were directed at a broad cross-section of the population. Often these programs were designed to involve poor, rural, isolated or other dispossessed sectors of the population usually excluded from the prime benefits of living in an affluent, modern and increasingly urban Alberta. These funds were ultimately re-directed into students' assistance, ACCESS and vocational training. Although these programs are concerned with human development, specifically educational development, they are considered less "pure" in nature because there is a tendency for the benefits to accrue to the already fortunate members of society. That is, those students able to gain entrance to post-secondary educational institutions tend to be primarily from professional or upper class origins.[5]

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[5] See Robert E. Herriott, Social Class and The Urban School (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966); "The Robbins Report on Higher Education," Great Britain, H.M.S.O., 1963: Martin Deutsch and Associates, The Disadvantaged Child (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1967) for documentation of the relationship between higher education and middle to upper socio-economic status.

The more than $17 million spent on students assistance in 1976-77 would be mainly for these already fortunate students. Some writers speculate that a conservative government is status quo oriented. Such a program they would interpret as a status quo effort to reinforce the powerful in society by guaranteeing educated recruits who will fill the positions vacated by an aging priviledged class. This kind of financial reinforcement helps to perpetuate the power structure.

Other changes in budget preferences are observable from the estimates of expenditure. The amount of money directed towards the Department of Environment grew substantially between 1972-73 and 1976-77. The land conservation program was organized to secure substantial citizen participation. However, recent events in the Department would seem to indicate that support for citizen participation is more talk than actual practice. The Environment Conservation Authority, the body created to review government policy and solicit public involvement, has fallen into government disfavour. Proposed legislation indicates that a restructured Authority with more ministerial control will replace the present body.

The second part of Chapter V dealt with the revenues and assets of government. It would appear that government expenditures did not adequately reveal the spending potential of any administration. Similarly, the yearly tabling of a surplus or deficit budget statement is not an accurate indicator of the overall poverty or wealth of government. As an illustration, the estimated deficit tabled in 1976-77 was made in anticipation of offsetting further increases in oil revenues. It was also made while millions of surplus revenues were withdrawn from the general revenue fund.

Estimating the cumulative assets of government presents problems. The normal budgeting procedures deal with departmental revenues and expenditures over a one year period. The cumulative wealth of all branches of government is not normally provided in public accounts.

Therefore, revenues were selected as a better indicator of increasing wealth in Alberta. The revenue figures illustrated that a large and sudden increase in non-renewable resources revenues occurred after 1972-73. In preceeding years, no other ample, financial windfall was indicated in revenues. Nor did there exist a "slush fund" of the magnitude of the Heritage Savings Trust Fund in earlier budgets. It was concluded that if Heritage Trust Fund assets were added to budget expenditures, the community development programs financed by the Progressive Conservative government in 1972-73 and 1976-77 would constitute a smaller percentage of total expenditures than those financed by the Social Credit administration in 1968-69 and 1971-72.

Other inferences can be drawn from the tables. Table 18 illustrates that as non-renewable resources revenues grow, the government becomes less dependent on alternate sources of revenue. This has a two-pronged effect. First, because tax increases can be curtailed, the government has a better chance of maintaining political popularity and ultimately sustained political power. Secondly, the administration can assume more independence from the Government of Canada and its dictates because they are not financially squeezed into shared cost agreements with the federal government. In reality, Alberta has lowered its dependence on shared cost agreements, demanding full authority over the implementation of those federal-provincial programs for Alberta.

Gradually the present administration has become more centralized and independent since assuming office. That is, although they have severed some ties with Ottawa, the province has decreased the percentage of unconditional grants to municipalities, therefore increasing provincial control over municipal expenditures through conditional grants. Added to this is the fact that the Heritage Savings Trust has been removed from legislative appropriation to Cabinet disposition. The indications are that fewer and fewer people make more and more decisions and dispose of larger and larger amounts of revenue.

What implications has this increased provincial government independence for community development in Alberta? Since the Progessive Conservative Party has devoted a lower budget percentage to community development than the former administration, and since they have at the same time maintained political popularity, there is little reason to expect the present trend to alter. The chances of the Progressive Conservatives remaining in power for some time appear very favourable under present conditions. A sudden change in government policy as it relates to community development is not anticipated.

# CHAPTER VI

## SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

This thesis analyzed the extent of Alberta government involvement in the field of community development. To accomplish this end, seven criteria of community development were outlined in Chapter II. In Chapter III, the seven criteria were applied to government programs described in provincial budget statements. The criteria were actually applied to only the articulated objectives for each program as described in government literature. In Chapter III, no attempt was made to ascertain whether or not government practices were compatible with articulated goals and objectives. The objectives were accepted at face value. An arbitrary division between primary and secondary community development programs was created. Secondary programs bordered more on the fringe of community development as some questions remained about how adequately the secondary programs satisfied all seven criteria. Also included in Chapter III were the estimated expenditures for each community development program for the 1976-77 fiscal year.

The responses to an interview/questionnaire (Appendix A) were analyzed in Chapter IV. The intended purpose of this exercise was to attempt to determine whether or not various government branches, which were categorized as community development programs, actually achieved their stated objectives. That is, were the methods utilized successful in achieving goals? The question remained unanswered.

Due to the noticeable lack of evaluation in those departments interviewed, neither the author nor the department directors could adequately judge whether goals were met. No criticism was levied at the methods which directors described as those commonly used in their programs. The main reason these methods were described as reasonable or acceptable was the common mention of these procedures in community development literature. That is, among the sources cited in the review of community development literature in Chapter II, there was some agreement as to what would constitute a desirable approach to community development. These desirable approaches were often stated by directors as being an integral part of their programs.

However, directors were vague about the extent of application of the methods. Consistent and meaningful departmental data on methods did not appear to exist. Thus, while directors listed direct or personal contact with local organizations and community members as a method of achieving their goals, they did not indicate that they recorded data about the amount of contact in any given year. Nor was information compiled on the degree to which public meetings have a direct and recordable influence on government decision-making. If participative democracy (rather than representative democracy) is a stated departmental objective, then participation rates constitute a logical and necessary part of routine data in those specific departments. The lack of such data combined with the lack of proper evaluation of outcomes leaves some doubt as to whether or not the stated objectives are in fact the real objectives of the Alberta government.

This problem of inadequate data is related to the larger issue that social programs require social statistics which are not usually obtained as a by-product of regular government administration or accounting. Academics have been aware of this problem for years, and many have called for greater use of social indicators to measure social programs. Social indicators would measure outputs--the social state of a society. For example, the amount of dollars per year spent on medicine or the number of doctors in a province could not be considered social indicators but figures on health or disease in that province could be categorized as social indicators. In the case of the community development programs, indicators of social change, education, citizen participation and human resource development are necessary. Such factors as income stability, personal assets, social mobility, educational attainment, status, satisfaction and political involvement and participation are vital in the evaluation of community development programs. In 1971, Snider[1] concluded that consistent and meaningful data with respect to many social indicators were absent in Alberta government and that the latter seemed to lack the ability to merge data from various sources. In 1977, it would appear that the same problem exists, at least in the area of government community development programs. To adequately evaluate community development programs, the government might implement Bauer's suggestion that a general information system:

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[1] Earle L. Snider, Towards the Development of a Socio-Political Data Bank for Alberta (Edmonton, Alberta: Human Resources Research Council, June, 1971).

> . . . should be developed to measure those effects specifically postulated as stemming from specific government programs. Second, the point of departure should be those values, goals and features of society that we consider important in assessing the state and direction of the society.[2]

Such efforts would go a long way toward increasing government credibility.

In community development programs, government credibility is sometimes suspect. The suspicion is intensified when government actions seem to contradict stated objectives. A recent case in point involves the Alberta Environment Department. As a newer department, Environment was organized to incorporate some of the basic democratic principles vital to the field of community development. Staff members were employed for the sole purpose of stimulating and coordinating public participation. In addition, an Environment Conservation Authority was designed "to encourage public involvement" and to conduct "a continuing review of Government policies and administrative procedures."[3] When the Environment Conservation Authority voiced opposition to a proposed Red Deer River Dam, the Department of

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[2] Raymond A. Bauer, Social Indicators (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1966), p. 2.

[3] Alberta, Estimates of Expenditure 1976-77, Program Estimates, p. 138.

Environment rejected the recommendation. Subsequently, the Authority's membership structure was altered by the Minister of Environment, Hon. D. J. Russell, causing suspicion of an apparent demise of the Environment Conservation Authority. Given that a government framework for incorporating citizens views was created, the public has a right to expect that the government intends to listen to those views and act accordingly. If they do not act on citizen opinion, one is led to conclude that such bodies as the Environment Conservation Authority are used as government vehicles for public relations rather than citizen participation.

The object of Chapter V had been to try to reveal trends in government spending in the area of community development over a nine year period. For the most part, government spending on community development programs had been consistently low. Recent changes in emphasis to more secondary community development support was noted. The current economic windfall in nonrenewable resources revenues was interpreted as an increase in the spending potential of the current government. However, since the bulk of the increased resources is directed towards the Heritage Savings Trust Fund, in effect all departments are currently deprived of this added windfall. As of March 31, 1977, two-thirds of the Trust Fund was in marketable securities and liquid assets.[4] Future disposition of the Fund is not expected to alter present financial trends since allocation of the Trust lies directly in the hands of the cabinet. The Act providing for the Fund authorizes certain capital projects, Canada investments and Alberta investments. Current expenditures from these three divisions indicate that capital expenditures of a community development nature are not included.

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[4] Alberta Treasury, Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund, First Annual Report 1976-77, August 30, 1977, p. 2.

Aside from detailing financial appropriations, Chapter V was important in another area, government policy on centralization versus decentralization. This reintroduces the topic of credibility. The Progressive Conservative Government professes to be totally dedicated to a decentralization philosophy. This dedication is reported in their party platform, "New Directions for Alberta in the Seventies," first as a basic party principle and later reiterated as:

> The most democratic form of government is that which is closest to the people. . . . We do not believe that alleged central efficiency should always be allowed to over-ride the special judgment of one's elected neighbours.[5]

Again, definition of the role of the provincial government is listed as to guide, advise and assist local government not to direct, control or restrict.[6] In actual practice, evidence seems to indicate that the Lougheed administration has pursued a policy of centralization which directly contradicts stated party policy.

Increasing prosperity has enabled Alberta to demand greater autonomy from the federal government but government policy has not simultaneously granted the same autonomy to the municipal governments. Between the years 1972 and 1976, the percentage of municipal grants designated as unconditional grants steadily declined. An increasing percentage of the contributions to municipal governments were given as conditional grants. Table 20 outlines the grant structure indicating that the provincial government, not the municipality, made the decisions about the disposition of almost two-thirds of the grants in 1976. Moreover, when expressed as a percentage of the total budgetary revenue of the provincial government, municipal grants constituted 7.3 percent

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[5] Alberta Progressive Conservative Party, Platform - "New Directions for Alberta in the Seventies," 1971, Part IV, Section H.

[6] Ibid.

TABLE 20

GRANTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT TO MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS FROM 1971-72 to 1975-76[7]

| Fiscal Years ending Mar. 31 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1973-74 | 1974-75 | 1975-76 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Millions of dollars | | | | | |
| Unconditional grants | 42 | 46 | 39 | 45 | 51 |
| Conditional grants | 40 | 33 | 48 | 103 | 138 |
| Total Municipal | 82 | 79 | 87 | 148 | 189 |

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[7] Source: Eric J. Hanson, Financing Education in Alberta, Fifth Edition (Barnett House, Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association, Research Monograph Number 24, April, 1976), p. 33.

of provincial revenue in 1975-76 as compared to 7.6 percent in the 1971-72 fiscal year.[8] The actual decrease in provincial government financial support to municipalities coupled with the assumption of more decision-making by the provincial government over municipal expenditures leads to the conclusion that the government actually pursues a policy of increasing centralization of decision-making at the provincial level.

Other indicators point to the same direction. While Alberta has experienced an economic windfall, no mechanism to share this wealth with municipalities has been created. On the contrary, the Alberta Heritage Trust Fund has been further centralized from legislative to cabinet authority. In addition, increasing control by the province over municipal affairs has been evident in other areas. First, in the interests of decentralizing population, the province created the Local Authorities Board. The latter can control the size of cities by accepting or rejecting applications for land annexation by municipalities. Although the Board holds public hearings, final authority rests with its members. Secondly, the Energy Resources Conservation Board decides which municipalities will be favored for industrial development since the Board reviews all applications for Industrial Development Permits. Thirdly, the Environment Act gave the cabinet the right to establish Restricted Development Areas, so-called green belts, on the periphery of municipalities. Here again, the province, not the municipality, is the main determiner of city size and physical structure. In these cases, many decisions would be more relevant to the municipalities concerned because many of these issues are actually regional issues.

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[8] Ibid.

The concept of decentralization is a very vital one for community developers. Many of the criteria described in Chapter II as prime characteristics of community development rest on the philosophical foundation of decentralization. For example, emphasis was directed to programs of self-help, participation by as many members of the community as possible, self-direction and co-operation, programs based on the'felt needs' and desires and aspirations of community people and basically democratic in orientation. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to carry out such programs without decentralization. Self-help and participation imply that funds and services are directly available to particular geographical or interest communities for their own development based on their specifically determined needs. Centralized decision-making at a provincial or cabinet level, however benevolent in intent or outcome, does not constitute community development. In the latter, participation is viewed as an end in itself.

At this point, several questions arise which are germaine to this issue of decentralization. Primarily, what is the role of the provincial government? Is there a distinct role for local government? Is representative democracy compatible with community development theory?. Is there a place in our society for participative government, and, if so, where is the appropriate place? The answers to these questions would go a long way towards allocating areas of responsibility (i.e. federal, provincial or municipal) more in accord with the benefits received. Moreover, such an allocation would be likely to facilitate a more effective strategy of government-sponsored community development.

The magnitude of government influence in Canada becomes evident when one considers that total government expenditures in 1976 were over 41 percent of the Gross National Product.[9] Over the past few years, there has been some contention between the federal government and the provinces over access to general tax fields. The provinces argue that they wish to raise their own revenue and assume independent fiscal responsibility. The federal government counters that it is vital to ensure at least equal opportunity in basic services throughout Canada. One important fact that does emerge from these arguments is that the provinces enjoy a basic constitutional protection. Indeed, the whole area of social legislation is constitutionally the jurisdiction of the provincial governments. This right was judicially supported as early as 1937 when a Judicial Committee Judgment declared the Employment and Social Insurance Act ultra vires of the Dominion Parliament, clearly chastising the federal government for appropriating money for matters within the sphere of provincial legislation.[10] It would appear, however, that the "power of the Dominion Parliament to impose conditions in connexion (sic) with grants paid to the provinces has never been challenged in the courts."[11] The latter appears to have been relegated to annual wrangling at federal-provincial conferences. Most important here is the fact that the rights of the Alberta government are protected constitutionally.

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[9] Department of Finance Canada, Economic Review (May, 1977). Calculated from tables on p. 125 and p. 181.

[10] A. H. Birch, Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 172.

No such constitutional rights protect municipalities. Municipalities are created by the province and their rights can be taken away by the province. In provincial-municipal relations, the municipality is left without legislative power or clout. It is therefore not surprising that municipalities find themselves financially squeezed and held in control by Alberta government conditional grants.

In spite of this lack of municipal power, is there a separate and distinct role for both municipal and provincial government in Alberta? It is suggested here that a distinct role exists for both. The fact that municipal governments presently exist is an indication that the province felt the need to create them. Secondly, it has already been pointed out that the Progressive Conservative Party Platform outlined the most democratic form of government as one in which the provincial government assists, not directs, local government. Thirdly, apart from democratic concerns, there are matters which are of interest specifically to municipalities and over which municipalities should assume responsibility. In municipal matters, the assumption is that the benefits received are local and that there are minimal externalities--spillover benefits to the province as a whole. At a local level, it is possible to limit externalities by bringing a greater number of people into effective participation in decision-making (the people decide what they want, pay the costs and receive the benefits). In this way, participative government is appropriately placed at a municipal level. It is at this level that effective community development can occur given adequate provincial support for such a system.

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[11] Ibid.

Under present circumstances, support for the municipal government role is limited. Constitutional validity for municipal government might rectify this situation. In addition, replacing conditional grants with tax points for municipalities would strengthen the power of municipal government. Municipal governments would then have a specific constitutional jurisdiction with its attendant responsibility and accountability.

For the province, a separate role emerges. That role centers on those activities where external benefits extend to the whole population of the province.[12] That is, if certain tasks are left to individual community development, the overall social benefit to the province would be less than optimal. The construction of a provincial transportation system might be one area where external benefits are exploited and overall social benefits are optimal. The spillover benefits become apparent when one considers the wasted individual effort by having road-building as a function of hundreds of communities. Such a system would be both costly and inefficient. The role and function of a provincial, representative government is the distribution of a pattern of external costs and benefits leading to the overall social benefit of the province.

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[12] The concept of externalities is important in political and economic analysis.

> "External benefits are incidental benefits that accrue to people who are not parties to the decision which created the benefits. Similarly, external costs are costs borne by people who had no voice in the decision to impose them."

(L. L. Wade and R. L. Curry, Jr. A Logic of Public Policy: Aspects of Political Economy. (California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1970) p. 11).

In discussing the centralization policies of the current Alberta government, the aim has been to answer questions germaine to the issue of government-sponsored community development. It is here postulated that a place exists in Alberta for both local-participatory democracy and for provincial-representative democracy. It is in the local-participatory arena that community development can be implemented. Representative democracy is not incompatible with community development, it simply operates in a different jurisdiction. However, the current policy of centralized decision-making favoured by the Alberta government works against the effective operation of municipal government. To alleviate such a situation might call for a constitutional reallocation of responsibilities followed by a system of unconditional grants to municipalities. This would give the necessary autonomy to municipalities to carry out those functions within their jurisdiction. This autonomy is necessary for effective community development. It provides participating members of a community with the necessary resources to define their own needs and carry out their own actions in accord with those needs.

At present, the provincial government guards its position of power. The future of community development is dependent on this level of government. The programs outlined in this thesis represent a provincial attempt at community development. For the most part, the main flaw in such a system is that the programs are created, initiated, filtered and financed from the top down. Given this situation of centralized control, it is understandable that, in spite of a tremendous increase in knowledge, many people still feel they are powerless to change society. To alleviate this sense of impotence, we suggest involving people around concrete issues rooted in their daily lives.

Emphasis in this thesis has been on financial appropriations. This emphasis was derived from the conviction that money could provide a concrete measure of commitment to certain goals. Finances were also revealed as a powerful tool for control and dominance. Over a nine year period, appropriations by the Alberta government for community development programs were characteristically low, approximately three percent or less of total budget appropriations. However, final recommendations do not specifically focus on a radical increase in community development program appropriations. It is realistic to expect that certain services (not community development in nature) will continue to require the largest portions of Alberta's financial pie. Modest increases in community development programs could be anticipated if enough pressure is brought to bear on government.

Immediate recommendations would focus on the following important issues. First, it is necessary for government to comprehend that the underlying goals of community development are long term goals. Such programs require long term financial commitment. To achieve measureable success in human resource development may take decades. During this time, citizens may need to be taught how to identify their needs and how to effectively participate in a democratic society. Public apathy (a complaint registered by two community development program directors interviewed) may spring from the realization that citizen requests are often ignored. Those groups who perceive they are successful at influencing government usually have renewed vigor to become involved in further issues.

Second, the potential for increased financing of community development in Alberta may be optimally supported by the provincial government indirectly. More decentralized decision-making and increased municipal autonomy may be the most appropriate vehicle for the practice of community development.

Third, rather than increase the number and cost of community development programs at the provincial level, emphasis should be placed on better implementation of existing programs. This would call for proper evaluation of programs coupled with other indications that real efforts are being made to achieve stated objectives. It is important that those funds designated as community development funds should ultimately be at the disposition of those for whom they are intended, namely, the citizens of Alberta.

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# APPENDIX A

## INTERVIEW/QUESTIONNAIRE

### Objectives

1. Are there stated objectives for this program?
2. Where are these articulated?
3. Have these changed since their inception?
4. Are they compatible with other aims of the government?
5. How would you classify the main objectives of your program? (e.g. Is it educational, promoting social change, concerned with resource development?)

### Methods

6. What methods do you use to accomplish your objectives?
7. Since the inception of the program, have there been any changes in methods used?
8. If so, why were these changes made?
9. What are the roles of the staff?

### Clientele

10. What segment of the general public is the program designed to serve? (e.g. What geographical area or particular segment of the public?)
11. Does the program respond to citizen requests for services?

### Citizen Participation and Involvement

12. In what ways is your program communicated to:
    (a) Potential clients?
    (b) the general public?
13. To what extent do citizens or client groups participate in the program?
14. Do citizens have any input into the decision-making process within the department or program?
15. What is the relationship between the staff of the program and the population served?

# APPENDIX A

## INTERVIEW/QUESTIONNAIRE (Cont'd.)

### Evaluation and Problems

16. How is the program evaluated?
17. Do you think that the program is achieving its stated objectives?
18. If not, why not?
19. What have been the achievements of the program?
20. What have been the major problems in the program?